THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FORTY FOURTH QUARTER, 1946

An Imp with Uncle Sam

By WALTER S. MERWIN

IT would be rashly presumptuous of me to attempt to appraise, or even praise, the boost to the military morale which good reading provided during the long years of World War II. Although they must exist in abundance the figures, the if-laid-end-to-end-would-reach statistics, are not at my disposal. However, in my own war-time experience I have watched books and magazines become a commodity, a medium of exchange, with an extrinsic value more real than that of the guilder, the peso, or yen. On a troop transport I have seen the "library," which measured about 8 x 8 feet and doubled-in-brass as the Chaplain's office, fill with twenty-four or -five men all groping, prying, grabbing, swapping books as fast as they could muscle up within arm's reach of the shelves. In combat areas I have passed along publications of the Council On Books In Wartime so dog-eared, greasy, sweaty, bloody, that they were scarcely legible but still being, oh, so read! In the Philippines when the boys had read the heart out of these little Armed Forces Editions they frequently took them to Manila and sold them for fancy prices at the local shops. The Filipinos were as parched for the English word as were our troops, and with a thirst of some years' standing. This practice

became so widespread that Uncle Sam sent his military policemen around to collect the errant volumes and return them to their proper shelves. But I am getting ahead of my story.

My enthusiasm for books, my love of reading and collecting, are responsible for the most pleasant and interesting memories I carry of five years spent in the armed forces. Perhaps in some degree these experiences are a measure of the enjoyment which came to thousands of others serving all over the world. I hope they are. My title is borrowed from the delightful *For the Love Of Books* by Paul Jordan Smith, in which he characterizes the impecunious book collector as the "imp," and defines a class of which I am certainly a member. As a neophyte practitioner at the bar before the war, and as an enlisted man and lieutenant during it, I was such an imp—and I revelled in it. I had bought books to the limit of my means by haunting the second-hand bookstores of my home town, Buffalo, and made an occasional purchase from catalogues. Upon my enlistment I found new and fascinating pastures in which to graze. The Army saw fit to have me travel and, like tens of thousands of others, I began my periodic treks up and down and across the country. At every "whistle-stop" I found and visited the bookstores. In Savannah and Brunswick, Georgia, I sought and steeped myself in Harris and Lanier. In the North Carolina maneuvers I threw away a toilet-kit and three pairs of socks so that I could crowd into my musette bag the two volumes of the seventh edition of *Lord Chesterfield's Letters To His Son*, which I had found in an antique shop in Southern Pines. It was the same way after I was transferred to Camp Hulen, Texas. I took time to visit stores in Houston, Galveston, San Antonio, and Victoria. During my tour of duty at Hulen I was given temporary assignments in both Maryland and Virginia and was able to route myself thereto by way of New Orleans. My pastures grew greener: I discovered the joys of the shops on Royale Street in the Vieux Carré; hunted bargains on F and G Streets in Washington; and made pleasant and profitable side-

trips to less-known members of the trade in Baltimore, Harrisburg, and the Gettysburg country. My library grew, at slight cost and at great pleasure. Uncle Sam was permitting me to indulge my hobby to the hilt. Morley's Mifflins never envisioned such a tour as was mine at no expense — without even the asking.

No *Tamerlane*, no *Leaves of Grass* nor Franklin imprints came my way, but my tastes were catholic and lesser prizes abounded. In Hagerstown, Maryland, it was Godey books, Phillpotts, and a first of the *Ingoldsby Legends*. One of the aforementioned side-trips to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, brought forth a *Comic Blackstone* and *Gil Blas*, both with Cruikshank illustrations, and some fine bibliographic books. In New Orleans it had been Alken and Rowlandson prints; in Charleston, old pamphlets and magazines. I became comfortably familiar with Fletcher's in Houston, Aurand's in Harrisburg, Rose Marie Antique Shop in Savannah, and countless fine bookstores in Washington and Baltimore. Each transfer or change of station, a chore to most men in service, was for me a bookman's holiday with its anticipations, pleasures, and delightful afterthoughts.

By a happy coincidence it came about that Uncle Sam declared me fully trained and ready for the wars at the same time that I completed my coverage of all the book shops within a day's reach of my camping ground in Maryland. I looked forward to overseas service: it meant fresh book fields to conquer, with a package of American cigarettes or a can of "C" rations the asking price for a *Golden Legend* or a Gutenberg. But, alas, these hopes were rudely dashed when the train upon which I soon found myself, after carefully sniffing the air in both directions, resolutely headed westward. Either by accident or with malice aforethought the War Department, in its infinite wisdom, saw fit to send me where it seemed there was nothing going on but fighting — the Pacific. The presence of fighting did not bother me, but the absence of bookstores did.

To this day I have not recovered from the blow which fate and

the Adjutant General dealt me. As we moved past Guadalcanal, stopped briefly at Finschhafen in New Guinea, and then landed on Luzon in the Philippines, my prospects dropped faster than those of the Japanese. But a spark of that something — you collectors, you readers of Jackson, Newton, Field, *et al.*, know it — sent me into Manila before the smoke had settled or the firing ceased in the Intramuros. Here there were no "classified" directories to aid me in my search, no street guides; in fact, in many areas, no street. But I prowled Rizal Avenue and Azcarraga and other likely sections with the same intentness, anticipation, and abandon which I had practiced in the States.

I believe the first target which I hit was the Advocate Book Supply on Azcarraga Avenue conducted by a smiling, ingratiating, English-speaking Filipino, Peter Ayuda. Subsequently I discovered, or uncovered, the Circulating Library Book Store owned by Isabelo Moran, the Central Book Supply, the Liberty Book Store, and other smaller shops about the city. I even penetrated the Chinese section, and found bookstores whose wares were familiar only because they bore a picture of Huck Finn, or Tarzan, on their back-hand covers. These successful forays gave me quite a thrill and, as other trying but trivial matters, like the conduct of the war, began to resolve themselves, I mapped out a campaign for a thorough "reconnaissance in force" of the Manila bookstores.

The Japanese, as they had done in other subjugated areas, flooded the Philippines with propaganda of all sorts, and I wanted a representative collection for the "war corner" of my library. Of course, with the return of our troops, it became unlawful to retain this material and it was within my rights, as a member of the armed forces, to confiscate anything I found. But I hoped to visit these stores often; to become well acquainted with the proprietors; in short, to enjoy in this distant country the pleasures which had been mine in dozens of shops in the States. Therefore, I used the more popular and generally successful

Yankee approach: I plied shop owners and families with cigarettes, candy, cookies, and the like. This treatment, coupled with a sincere mutual regard, elicited from Mr. Moran the gift of a *South China Year Book*, a picture record of the Japanese occupation of the China coast. On other occasions I received from him equally interesting items, including the *Souvenir of Philippine Independence*, which had been prepared by the "Propaganda Corps, Japanese Imperial Government." At a curbside stand I bought a copy of *This One Battle*, a colorful and dramatic account by one Captain Mizuno of the naval engagement in the Japan Sea in 1905. The book, printed and published in Tokyo in 1944, is an English translation from the Japanese by C. H. James of the British Embassy. A publisher's note at the end of the volume states that James undertook the task being "greatly moved by the result of the Russo-Japanese War." These items, along with others, were exhibited for several weeks at Buffalo's Grosvenor Library, as a display of "The Printed Word At War."

During their "protective" occupation of the Islands the Japanese, with oriental thoroughness, made an effort to censor the reading available to the Filipinos. They appointed inspectors who, among their other duties, visited Manila's bookstores and confiscated undesirable items or stamped with approval supposedly innocuous volumes. Apparently this task was performed by Japanese linguists of indifferent ability, or by Filipinos who acted with tongue in cheek, as the results were often quite ludicrous. I have seen the censor's "OK" in such works as *The Making of an American*, and *The American Commonwealth.* At the Advocate Book Supply I bought, for a peso* a volume, a first edition of *The Marble Faun.* In Volume I is a stamp bearing date January 10, 1944, and the words in English, "censored by Hodobu." Volume II has a different stamp, dated Sept. 12, 1942, and says, "Examined, Office Of Japanese Military Administration," also in English. *The Marble Faun*, as far as I know, appeared first in 1860, but there is

* A peso equals fifty cents.

a note on the title page of each volume of my copy that it was "brought to me from New York, September 1859. E. N. Tyler."

I was chagrined that I had never heard of the Philippine national hero, José Rizal, although, in the light of his and our own activities in the Islands around the turn of this century, it is not surprising. I admitted my embarrassment to Isabelo Moran and, with characteristic Filipino courtesy and gratitude at my interest, he presented me with *Noli Me Tangere*, Rizal's own story of the Spanish occupation, and *On Wings of Destiny*, a fictionalized account of the life of the patriot. For his efforts to correct the abuses of the Spanish Colonial government and to weave his people into a semblance of national unity, Rizal was executed in 1896 by a firing squad in Bagumbayan Field on Manila's waterfront. My tent may have been pitched on the exact spot. With great feeling Moran autographed my *Noli Me Tangere* in both English and Tagalog.

I soon felt quite at home in Manila's bookstores (that is one of the pleasures of book collecting) and found them quite like many I had visited in the States. Relatively little printed matter appears in the national dialect — Tagalog. English publications predominate. There is also a smattering of works in French, Chinese, and Spanish, as might be expected. Shelves in the second-hand stores are stacked with such familiars as *Quo Vadis*, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, *Christmas Eve on Lonesome*, and the like. I was intrigued to find, in one élite book emporium, a copy of *Forever Amber*. It had evidently been contributed by some recent arrival in search of more negotiable assets. Many Filipinos are well read in the American authors, affording them that literary pre-eminence which we generally reserve for our English idols.

Once again, events entirely beyond my control whisked me to fresher fields. Uncle Sam was psychic when it came to divining my book-hunting progress. The completion of my appointed rounds of Manila's repositories came into conjunction with the

completion of the war in the Pacific. I had been a member of the G-2 (intelligence) section of General MacArthur's Staff in Manila during the summer of 1945 and, upon the conclusion of surrender arrangements at our Headquarters with the Nipponese envoys in August, we received orders to leave immediately for the land of the Rising Sun. I arrived in Tokyo Bay on August 30th on a ship loaded with delegates to the surrender to be signed three days later on the *USS Missouri.* After a two-week stay in Yokohama we moved to the new General Headquarters at Tokyo and set up operations in the Dai Ichi Insurance Building directly east of the Imperial Palace.

Some chronicling of my military experiences is necessary to lend background to these literary peregrinations; but, to me, the former were no more exciting than the latter. As we settled down in Tokyo, and began to make order out of chaos, I felt the old "itch" come over me. But here there were difficulties. The twenty-mile ride from Yokohama had revealed nothing but destruction and ruin. Undoubtedly many bookstores had been destroyed, and it was quite probable that those remaining would carry only Japanese language publications due to censorship, limited paper supply, and other restrictions. Furthermore, I feared that the dangers incident to being in a hostile country would restrict my shopping to the main thoroughfares and policed areas. However, I was mistaken on both counts. I never once carried a gun in Japan; and as long as I was there I wandered through the narrowest and gloomiest streets, ate and drank with all sorts of people in the most out-of-the-way spots — and never received so much as a dark look.

I believe another American officer, also of a bookish bent, directed me to my very first find in Tokyo. It was Kyo-bun-kwan, located in the "Ginza," and standing stark and alone, amid the desolation of many less fortunate businesses. They had a fine stock, including many items on Christian religion, and a surprising number in the English language. I revelled and luxuriated

in their selection with the same pleasure which I would have shown a hot shower-bath. I cannot describe the exciting, anticipatory thrill I feel when I come upon an unknown bookstore in a strange place. This breathlessness never left me and my journeys throughout Tokyo were invariably attended by recurrent fits of "goose pimples" as I stumbled across hole-in-the-wall, curbside, or respectable shops. As I write this I have before me the map of Tokyo which guided me about the city, and its pencilled directions, notes, and interlineations bring back pleasant memories.

Among the many officers familiar with Japan in our Headquarters was a major in the Australian army, George Caiger, who had lived there for years and taught in their schools. He was the author of several books including *Walks in Tokyo*, *Radio Talks on the British Isles*, and *Doll on Display*. My copy of the last-mentioned book, which describes Japan's holidays as celebrated by their doll makers, is inscribed in English and Japanese by the Nipponese officer who presented it to me, and also autographed by Major Caiger. In my opinion, that makes an interesting presentation copy. The major was kind enough to direct me to many shops which he had previously discovered in the maze of Tokyo's streets.

At every hour of the day the capital's many bookshops are jammed to the doors by an extremely literate populace eager to read. It is a situation unknown in America: the hustle and bustle, the push and shove of the "dime" store carried over to the bookstore. Thus I found happy hunting grounds and, with the favorable rate of exchange we enjoyed, had plenty of ammunition with which to hunt. Our dollar purchased fifteen yen, whereas before the war it had been worth about four, and prices had not yet caught up with this inflationary currency. This, of course, in addition to the omnipotent purchasing power of the American cigarette or candy bar! For example, at Kyo-bun-kwan, for fifteen or twenty cents the volume, I bought several attractive items in mint condition, many with lovely color illustrations, including

How to Make Japanese Color Prints, Monthly Calendar of Floral Japan, and *Grass Leaves From a Cinnamon Garden.* I found similar items in the stores of the Maruzen Company, evidently once the Brentano's of Japan. The main store and general offices located in the Ginza were levelled to the ground by our bombers, but branch locations remain. There may be others, but I found only three of these subsidiaries in a fairly thorough reconnaissance of the city: one in the Ginza, a second in the Marunouchi Building in Kozimachi, and the third in the Kanda district. At the Marunouchi store I bought the Limited Editions Club edition of Lafcadio Hearn's *Kwaidan* for twenty yen, or $1.35.

Also located in the Marunouchi Building, incidentally Tokyo's largest office building, was the head office of the Board of Tourist Industry, Japanese Government Railways. Publications of the bureau include the Tourist Library, at present about 39 volumes, detailing in fascinating style facets of the Japanese way of life from *Sumo-Japanese Wrestling* to *Japanese Coiffure* and *Angling in Japan.* The most recent publication of the series which I own is No. 39, entitled *Hand-Made Paper in Japan,* containing a well-written text supplemented with fine illustrations and actual samples of some dozen different kinds of Japanese paper. An editorial note announces: "The present series will, when completed, consist of more than a hundred volumes each dealing with a different subject, but all coordinated." I have not a complete set of the 39 booklets, as war damages and losses have made some unavailable. The Japanese employed in our liaison office, knowing of my interest in books, made every effort to find those I lacked, and did succeed in scaring up some which had eluded me.

There is a section of the capital just north of the Imperial Palace, in Kanda Ward, which my *Official Guide* says, "may well be called the 'Latin Quarter' of the Capital." The ward boasts many schools and colleges, and one street, "extending from Ogawa-mati toward Kudan in Zinbo-tyo — the Charing Cross Road of Tokyo — full of second-hand books." I naturally headed

breathlessly for such an intriguing collecting ground. I went with trepidation and reservation, I admit, lest this bookman's paradise should have been shamefully misrepresented or, worse still, perhaps destroyed. But I was delightfully surprised. For three blocks, from Surugadai-shita west to the Imperial Moat the street was lined with bookshops of every size, shape, and description. Of course, there was "gaposis" where an occasional bomb or fire had destroyed a cluster of buildings; but, for the most part, the section had been singularly fortunate and its stores and stocks escaped intact.

This ward became my bivouac, so to speak, for the remainder of my time in Tokyo and, although many of the shops sold only cheap, paper-bound Japanese imprints, a good number had well-filled shelves of English, French, German, and Spanish titles. Our Headquarters was only a twenty-minute walk from this oasis which, off the beaten track for the soldier or sailor in search of more exciting things than first editions, attracted few Americans. I soon became well known in the area, inasmuch as I could spend more than two yen in one place, was an American soldier, and towered at least a foot over the rest of the pedestrian traffic. Shop keepers were most accommodating, a Japanese forte, being stimulated by all of the above factors. Although I eventually settled on one store as having the best stock and the most toothsome proprietor, I did pick up a few items worthy of mention in other places. Margaret Stillwell's *Incunabula and Americana* came from Matsumura's, as did *Italian Book Illustrations* by Pollard and *Printing of Today* by Simon and Rodenberg. In the Isseido Book Store I found a copy of *A Bibliography of the Waverley Novels*, by Worthington, and walking with it to the rear of the shop, checked the collation of the first edition of *Tales of My Landlord: Second Series*, which I discovered under a pile of magazines. I bought the five volumes for two dollars. In other places it was such things as Browning's *Jocoseria*, *The Divine Tragedy* by Longfellow (the 12mo volume) and a nice copy of De Bury's *Philobiblon*.

The Shinsho-do shop in the Kanda District was the one with which I eventually fell in love, where I lavished all my affection and yen. Its proprietor, Mr. Komoshita, had been for years the president of a local rare book trade association. He knew no English at all and my conversations with him were always carried on through an interpreter or with the aid of one of his own Japanese-English dictionaries (the use of which always sent him into paroxysms of laughter). Again, I commingled with my yen some good American cigarettes, cookies, and candy, and soon found myself one of the family. I seldom called at his place of business that I wasn't invited to join Komoshita, his wife, daughter, and son-in-law in a cup of tea and assorted oriental delicacies. It was here that I found the few Hearn items (aside from the *Kwaidan*) which I was able to locate in Tokyo. Lafcadio Hearn is still extremely popular with the Nipponese and just is not to be found on the shelves in Japanese or English. Komoshita had *Kokoro*, *Out of the East*, and *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*. Among others, Dickens was well represented — not in parts, I admit — but in the earliest bound editions. I found *David Copperfield*, and also *Pickwick Papers*, the latter with the illustrations by Seymour, Buss, and "Phiz." On one occasion my proprietor friend brought forth, with as much feeling as I had seen displayed in the Orient, a fine early edition of *This Book Collecting Game*, and then sold it to me for sixty-five cents.

I have touched only a fraction of the purchases and pleasures which were mine in Tokyo. Each visit to the Kanda, Imperial and Keio University districts meant new acquaintances and a fresh store of memories. I sent home five or six large boxes of books, each packed waterproof in a part of my army gas-repellent cape, representing no great financial outlay but sound investment for future enjoyment. The pleasures of cataloguing, collating, studying these volumes helped me pass many a weary day and evening that might otherwise have found relief in a less healthy pastime. The fighting man overseas who called himself a "col-

lector" was a happy man and a good soldier. Whether it was butterflies, buttons, or match-box covers, it was a link with his former life. It was a streak of sanity in a crazy existence. At night, as I slid down into my blankets, I would take a good-night look at the picture of my wife and daughter and a glance at my Dickens or Hearn and drop off to sleep with pleasant thoughts. For me, far from home, to continue my book-hunting meant to add peace of mind, to find daily contentment, and that necessary hope and confidence in a future.

Walt Whitman's Reception in Scandinavia*

By Gay Wilson Allen

I

IN the 1880's Walt Whitman wrote to his German translator: "... I had more than my own native land in view when I was composing *Leaves of Grass*. I wished to take the first step toward calling into existence a cycle of international poems. The chief reason for being of the United States of America is to bring about the common goodwill of all mankind, the solidarity of the world."[1]

At the time the poet made this confession, his works had already attracted considerable attention in England, Germany, France, and Denmark, in the order named, and he was possibly better known, and certainly more warmly admired, in Europe than in America. Whitman's reception in the first three of these countries has been widely discussed by American scholars and critics, but little is known in the United States about his Scandinavian reception. This ignorance is probably due to two facts: study of Scandinavian languages is confined in America to a small group of philologists, most of whom are not particularly interested in American literature, and Whitman has never had the influence on

* Read at the Society's Meeting held in New York, 26 June 1946.

In preparing this paper I have been aided by several Scandinavian friends: Dr. Frederik Schyberg, of Copenhagen; Professor Einar Haugen, of the University of Wisconsin; and Dr. Jens Nyholm, Librarian at Northwestern University. These men have supplied me with information, sent photostats, loaned books, and encouraged the study in many ways. To Dr. Nyholm I am especially indebted for criticising and correcting the manuscript.

[1] Letter to T. W. Rolleston, quoted by W. S. Kennedy in *The Fight of a Book for the World* (West Yarmouth, Mass., Stonecroft Press, 1926), pp. 249-250.

Scandinavian writers that he has had on certain French and German ones. This Scandinavian reception of the American poet, however, constitutes an interesting chapter in the growth of Whitman as a world poet.

Among European scholars, only the distinguished Danish critic Frederik Schyberg[2] has outlined the history of Whitman in Scandinavia, and, naturally, his comments are limited mainly to Denmark. Schyberg's treatment of the subject is especially valuable, however, for the light he throws on the Scandinavian background for Whitman's reception there. The impact which an author — and especially a poet — makes on an alien mind and literature depends usually upon the degree of similarity between his patterns of thought and style and those of the foreign writers and critics who become interested in his works.

Two literary traditions prepared the way for Walt Whitman in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The first of these was the German Romanticism, which through Coleridge, Carlyle, and Emerson was the basic source of Whitman's philosophical ideas and poetic theories and which in turn had fecundated the Scandinavian literatures. The second was native writers who in their intentions and temperaments had anticipated the revolutionary American poet. One of the earliest of these was the Danish poet, Baggesen[3] (1765-1826), who from his retreat at Mt. Hermann wished to unite all peoples of the earth under the same democratic movement which made him feel "heathen with the heathen, distressed with the distressed, merry with the merry . . . and mindful of humanity everywhere."[4] The Swedish communistic democrat, Thorild (1759-1808), believed that "according to his capacity each person should receive the whole world into himself, scorning nothing and denying nothing. Existence is holy and we

[2] Frederik Schyberg, *Walt Whitman* (København, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1933), pp. 325-327.

[3] The Scandinavian writers mentioned in this and the following paragraph are discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 284-293.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

ought to greet each morning with a hymn."[5] Another Swedish writer, Almquist (1793-1866), sympathized vicariously with the unfortunates, criminals, and prostitutes much as Whitman did, and perhaps for the same temperamental reasons. But one of the most revealing parallels is the Danish Sibbern (1785-1872). Schyberg has compared him to Whitman, finding his apocalyptic work, *Information about the Contents of a Book in the Year 2135*,[5a] a "democratic forecast" astonishingly Whitmanesque, especially suggesting Whitman's mystic contact with future generations in *Crossing Brooklyn Ferry*.

A more widely recognized similarity, however, is the great Norwegian epic poet, Henrik Wergeland[6] (1808-1845). Several European critics have compared him to Whitman, though neither poet apparently knew of the other's existence. Both were similarly interested in the evolution of the race and attempted to lead the development by creating a democratic art. Both rejected conventional techniques and cultivated an "organic" style. Wergeland's erotic symbolism closely paralleled Whitman's *Children of Adam* and *Calamus* motifs. We might even find in his mythology a natural religion similar to the cosmo-theology toward which Whitman groped. With major writers like these in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark before or during Whitman's lifetime, it would be surprising if the American poet did not attract attention in Scandinavia.

II

The first critic to greet Whitman in Scandinavia was a Danish scholar and leader of democratic thought, Rudolf Schmidt, who published a monograph, *Walt Whitman, det amerikanske Demokratis Digter*,[7] in the February, 1872, number of *For Idé og Virkelighed*,

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[5a] *Meddelelser om Indholdet af et Skrift fra Aar 2135* (København, Forfatter, 1858).

[6] I have discussed the parallel in *Walt Whitman's "Long Journey" Motif*, in: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXXVIII: 76-95 (January, 1939).

[7] Translated, with frequent though unimportant omissions, by R. M. Bain and

reprinted ten years later in Schmidt's book of essays, *Buster og Masker: litteratur-studier* (København, F. H. Eibes Forlag, 1882). Meanwhile he had published in 1874 a translation of *Democratic Vistas* (*Demokratiske Fremblik*) and had written various articles on Whitman for Danish newspapers.

Schmidt's interpretation of Whitman's thought and art was based on knowledge of the critical defences of the poet by his American and English friends, O'Connor, Burroughs, William Rossetti, Mrs. Gilchrist, and Conway, although in his essay he assumed a more detached attitude than most of these overly zealous admirers. Like almost every reader of Whitman during the nineteenth century, Schmidt was impressed first of all by his radical experiments in rhythm, but was not unprepared for them, for he remarked that, "The only thing which approximately reminds us of the American poet's mode of expression is the peculiar accent which is here and there discovered in our translation of the Old Testament or in one or two of H. Wergeland's unrhymed poems."[8] (Probably this was the first comparison of Whitman and Wergeland.)

Schmidt understood better than most contemporary American critics that Whitman's form was adapted to his purposes, that he was attempting to give expression to his own inner dreams and experiences as "simply America, the home and hearth of freedom, the soil upon which the foundations of human truth and nobility are to be laid."[9] For example:

> In the poem "Walt Whitman" [later called "Song of Myself"] is drawn the bold outline of a new departure in humanity — a man vigorous, with warm blood and fruitful brain, strong muscle, wealth of imagination healthily rooted in sensuous organic nature, and at the same time with a power of spiritual flight — able to attain the highest thoughts of the human mind.[10]

R. M. Bucke, for *In Re Walt Whitman*, edited by his literary executors, Horace L. Traubel, R. M. Bucke, Thomas R. Harned (Philadelphia, David McKay, 1893), pp. 231-248.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

Schmidt admitted that Whitman's expression of the "mystic, attractive relations of man and woman" may at times sound "to one's ears almost like the roar of a wild beast in the rutting season,"[11] but he thought that the apparent brutality was mitigated by the scale on which the poet had represented the elemental passions. Consequently, these poems were not carnal nor subjectively erotic. They were as healthy as the impulse which caused Americans to hold baby shows for the most robust specimens and the mothers to compete in fecundity. Whitman's very crudities were the product of the vitality of a young democracy:

> He has shot up from a spiritual soil still lacking in the juices which give to the fruits of the mind their peculiar aroma and fascinating sweetness, but the whole circumference is many times greater, and promises, when once the full ripening has come, productions of a far richer power and fulness.[12]

His very highest praise Rudolf Schmidt reserved for *Democratic Vistas*, of which he correctly declared, "The work is built upon the idea that public spirit is not created by institutions, as our national liberals naïvely imagine, but that institutions themselves will infallibly grow rotten, like an old mill, if public spirit is not constantly at work propping them up and re-edifying them."[13] This "re-edifying" through literature and art appealed to Schmidt more than any other of Whitman's doctrines and explains why this Danish critic was so deeply interested in "The Poet of American Democracy."

The very same year that Rudolf Schmidt began introducing Whitman to Danish readers, the great democratic-minded novelist of Norway, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, was also reading and admiring him, as we know from an amusing personal account preserved for us in the autobiography of the late Professor Rasmus B. Anderson, formerly Professor of Scandinavian at the University of Wisconsin. The following incident took place while Anderson was visiting Bjørnson in 1872:

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 234.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 240.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

While we were drinking the afternoon coffee the mail carrier brought the post. The maid handed Bjørnson a large package and a big letter. Sitting near him I saw that both the package and the letter were covered with American postage stamps. Bjørnson opened the letter and found in it a photograph and a long epistle from Walt Whitman. Then he opened the package and found in it a large book called "Leaves of Grass" by Walt Whitman. He asked me to read the letter which contained a lot of nice things about one of Bjørnson's stories which Whitman had read in an English translation and he begged him to accept the photograph and "Leaves of Grass" with his compliments.

I was an American and here was an American of whom I had never heard even the name before. I was a teacher at an American university and thought that it would be a disgrace to the University of Wisconsin and to my country if I exposed this ignorance of mine to the great Norwegian author and his family. I was unable to lay my hands on the book and the letter which I had read and translated gave me no clue to Whitman's identity. What I feared happened. Bjørnson asked me what I thought of Walt Whitman. I hesitated. I wanted to make an answer that should not expose my ignorance.

The title "Leaves of Grass," I thought, might fit a work on botany, a subject in which I was deeply interested, but the only American botany that I knew was Gray's. Upon reflection I thought it would be safe to say that the opinion in regard to Walt Whitman's merit and standing was divided.

Bjørnson looked at me, he became wild; he got up and paced the floor like a raging lion. He told me that I knew nothing about Whitman, that I was only trying to deceive him. He said that we Americans did not appreciate our greatest men; that we let our most gifted poets starve to death, and while he was abusing me and attacking the Americans he kept sandwiching in something that sounded to me like "Democratic Wits." He declared that no poet's fancy had ever soared so high and no poet's thoughts had ever sunk so deep as Walt Whitman's, and as he paced the floor he kept on shouting "Walt Whitman! Democratic Wits! Walt Whitman! Democratic Wits!" and said that we Americans ought to be ashamed of ourselves.

There was nothing for me to do, but to make a clean breast of it and confess my total ignorance of Walt Whitman; but I made a faithful promise that on my return to America I should read his books. On my return to Madison I tried to secure a copy of "Democratic Wits," but no bookseller knew of any such book. I finally, however, secured a copy of a pamphlet by Walt Whitman entitled "Democratic Vistas" and this Bjørnson had read in a Danish translation [Rudolf Schmidt's].[14]

Another Norwegian who became interested in Whitman was Kristofer Janson, a Unitarian clergyman in Minneapolis from

[14] R. B. Anderson, *Life Story* (Madison, Wisc.: privately printed, 1915).

1881 to 1892. He had read Schmidt's essays and greatly admired Bjørnson's writings. Consequently, in the book which he wrote and published on American culture, *Amerikanske Forhold*, during his first year in this country, he devoted a large part of one chapter to Walt Whitman. Unequivocally he declared:

> The most original poetic mind America has at present is undeniably Walt Whitman. Intentionally I say poetic *mind*; for he has not yet become a poet and he is an old, afflicted man. But I am certain that sometime in America's saga, he will be named as a pioneer in new forms, like a prophet who, along with all prophets, is not accepted in his own land. It is Walt Whitman's strange fate to be better known and respected in Europe . . . than in America. In America they laugh at him and call him a crazy old man.[15]

Janson reported that he had heard him called "a crazy old man" often from various sources and "by most of the literary men." He also said that he knew Whitman's books better than most of these literary men whom he met, though, surprisingly, he added that "Longfellow was a splendid exception; he talked in his usual mild way about Whitman as a wild, untamed spirit and his poems (he had not read many of them) as full of strong, vital ideas."[16] This record of Longfellow's opinion is essentially in agreement with Janson's own. In fact, one suspects that in the interview Longfellow's kindness and tact may have given Janson the impression that their opinions agreed more than was actually true.

In reading Whitman, Janson felt permeated by the whisper of the woods and the roar of the cataract:

> And just as he is the singer of the new, only half-discovered nature, with the immense kingdom slumbering in its womb, so he is also the singer of the new, undeveloped, fermenting folk in this natural setting because it promises a new creation, a people standing on equality and the worth of humanity.[17]

Janson thus realized that the person whom Whitman celebrated in himself was not a typical American of his own time but an ideal for the future. Despite the achievements to date, real democracy

[15] Kristofer Janson, *Amerikanske Forhold: fem foredrag* (København, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1881), p. 63.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

was still embryonic. Janson admired *Democratic Vistas* almost as much as *Leaves of Grass* because there he found this ideal most clearly stated.

> I have seldom read a nobler and more noteworthy book. That was what especially attracted me to America and led me to look on America as the land of the future, and yet there is no one who sets forth the conditions of American society in their unvarnished nakedness more frankly [than Whitman] . . . This book is the program of democracy.[18]

Like other European critics of Whitman, these Danes and Norwegians saw in him the combined present crudity and future promise of this still half-civilized country. As Janson concluded, "Walt Whitman is not the polished poet or the finished thinker. He lacks order, clarity, discipline of form and thought. But as America in his dream is the germ of ideal democracy, so he himself is the germ for the growing school of democratic poetry."[19]

If the enthusiasm of Schmidt, Bjørnson, and Janson had led to competent translations of *Leaves of Grass* into Dano-Norwegian, Whitman's influence in Norway and Denmark might have grown as it was doing in Germany. But the only translation in addition to Schmidt's *Demokratiske Fremblik* was some of Whitman's poems in Niels Møller's Danish book, *Autumn*, 1888, which Schyberg says, "because of their curiously intricate rhythmic diction, did not contribute to further the understanding of Whitman's poetic idiosyncrasy."[20]

Possibly other translations might have been attempted had not Georg Brandes and Knut Hamsun succeeded, by their opposition and indifference, in stifling much of the interest which Schmidt and Janson had created in the American poet. Brandes, the renowned Danish critic, completely ignored Whitman in print, and on a visit to England in 1913 he remarked that he placed Whitman and Oscar Wilde in the same category.[21] The

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[20] Schyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

silence of so influential a critic was as effective as active opposition.

But the young Norwegian, Knut Hamsun, was not silent. Soon after his return from America, where he had worked as a street-car conductor in Chicago, he wanted to publish something which would create a sensation. In 1889 he made the attempt in a book on the intellectual life of America, *Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv*, in which he devoted twenty-two pages to an attack on Walt Whitman. *Leaves of Grass*, he declared, "is not poetry at all; no more than the multiplication tables are poetry."[22] Hamsun made no attempt to understand Whitman; it was more fun to satirize him and thereby also strike at Rudolf Schmidt, whom he detested.

> The author called himself a "cosmos"; Rudolf Schmidt called him a "cosmos"; I, on the other hand, can only with difficulty find any connection with an idea so extremely comprehensive, so that for my part he could equally well be a cosmos, a pigeon-hole or anything. I will modestly and simply call Walt Whitman a savage.
>
> He is a voice of Nature in an uncultivated, primitive land.[23]

Other European critics were attracted by Whitman's alleged primitiveness, but Hamsun, who was aristocratic by temperament but poor by social inheritance, gave expression to some of his bitterness toward America, where he had failed to find economic opportunity, by railing at the crude land which had produced so crude a poet.

> If he had been born in a land of culture and been intelligently educated, he might perhaps have been a little Wagner; his nerves are sensitive and his disposition musical; but born in America, that remote corner of the world where he could always shout Hurrah and where the only recognized talent of the people is salesmanship he had to be a changeling, a mixture of primitive being and modern man.[24]

By "modern" Hamsun apparently meant "brutal," for he added that, "He is modern in so far as he always writes brutally.

[22] Knut Hamsun, *Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv* (København, Philipsens Forlag, 1889), p. 63.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

. . . But it is scarcely due to any conscious feeling of artistic courage that he has practiced Realism; it is much more the result of the naïveté of a child of nature."[25] Hamsun conceded that one poem, "Sometimes with One I Love," made sense, but added, "he is so extraordinarily clear that in surprise one supposes these two or three lines must have been written by his mother or some other intelligent person."[26]

Whitman's one virtue, according to Hamsun, was his emotion, but this was uncontrolled:

> He does not control his material, he lets it control him; that is evident in his colossal form which accumulates and overwhelms him. In all this song of the highway ["Song of the Open Road"] his heart is warmer than his brain is cool; therefore he can neither describe nor celebrate; he can only exult — exult in wild outbursts over everything and nothing. One feels a heart beat violently in the pages of this book, but one seeks in vain for a probable reason why that heart has been so strongly moved.[27]

Hamsun concluded that Whitman was greater as a man than as a poet. "Walt Whitman certainly cannot write. But he can feel. He lives an emotional life. If he had not received that letter from Emerson his book would have failed — as it deserved to fail."[28]

No attempt was made in Scandinavia to counteract this negative influence until 1905, when Johannes V. Jensen published his allegorical novel, *Hjulet.* It is an extremely paradoxical book — and perhaps even stranger as a novel — , but this critical problem need not concern us here. The setting of the story is Chicago in the late nineteenth century, but the theme is really Walt Whitman, a study of the contradictory duality of his personality and doctrine. The hero of the novel, a young poet named Lee, represents the positive side of Whitman, his democratic individualism, his awareness of modern reality, his brotherly love for all mankind. But the other main character in the book, Evanston, is a

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

homosexual swindler, who preaches a "new religion" on Whitman's "Bible." He uses two of Whitman's doctrinaire principles, the assimiliation of all religions into a composite religion and the equality of good and evil, to establish a demagogic cult, with mystic symbols and scriptural texts from *Leaves of Grass*. To Lee, Whitman is an emotional inspiration, to Evanston a perverted and pernicious "program." Here in these two characters we find a critical personification of the two attitudes toward Whitman present to some degree in the earliest Scandinavian interpretation of the "poet of democracy," *i.e.*, his wholesome joy and his dubious mystical-erotic tendencies.

But more important for Whitman's reputation in Denmark, *Hjulet* contained many long extracts from *Leaves of Grass*, competently translated in spirit and meaning. These created, according to Schyberg, wide interest in Denmark. In 1918 Jensen and his friend, Otto Gelsted, published a selected edition of Whitman's poems based on the translations in *The Wheel* and additional translations by Gelsted, with introductory essays by both men. Jensen called *Leaves of Grass* the gateway to America.

Meanwhile in 1906 Just Bing, in his *Europas Litteraturhistorie i det 19. Aarhundrede*,[29] devoted several paragraphs to Whitman, stressing his freedom and naturalism. Here was a poet, he said, who found esthetic form and beauty only in nature and who would have in his poems only such forms and order as he found in the world of nature. His style reminded Bing of Mallarmé's "idea music" in France and of the experimental poetry of Goethe (in his youth) and Arno Holz in Germany. But Just Bing thought that the thousand-year-old literary culture of Europe could never be harmonized with the theory which led Whitman to substitute words and interjections for poetic thoughts.

[29] Just Bing first published his work as *Europas Litteraturhistorie i det nittende Aarhundrede* (København, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1906). Version used in this study: *Litteraturens indre Udvikling i det nittende Aarhundrede* (København, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1926), pp. 158-159. A Swedish edition was published by Albert Bonniers förlag in 1910.

In 1929 another Danish poet, Børge Houmann, published a larger and more representative collection of translated selections from *Leaves of Grass* than the little Jensen-Gelsted book. Whereas the latter had limited their efforts mainly to the shorter lyrics, Houmann included *Song of Myself* and other typical poems. Since the basic structure of Danish and Norwegian resembles English, Whitman's stylistic tricks, such as his participial constructions and his reiterated prepositional phrases, can be turned with fair success into these languages. Swedish, with its more complicated syntax, presents greater difficulty. Houmann's translations have been praised by critics in Denmark and Norway, though his introductory essay is sentimental and inaccurate in biographical fact.

The third and best selected Danish version of Whitman's poems was published in 1933 by Frederik Schyberg. In addition to his success in retaining Whitman's individualistic style, Schyberg is to be commended also for his inclusion of the long, characteristic poems, *Proud Music of the Storm*, *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking*, *Song of Myself*, and *The Sleepers*. If he had only included the lilac poem, this collection might be called "The Best of Whitman." At any rate, with the publication of Schyberg's *Walt Whitman, Digte* Danish readers had available in their language adequate translations of most of Whitman's best works, with the Schmidt rendering of *Democratic Vistas*, the Jensen-Gelsted edition of thirty-one of the shorter lyrics, Houmann's miscellaneous selection of poems including *Song of Myself*, and Schyberg's admirable translation of four long and eight short poems drawn from *Calamus*, *Drum-Taps*, and other sections of the *Leaves*.

Schyberg was also the first Scandinavian to publish a full book-length biographical and critical study of Whitman. His *Walt Whitman* appeared the same year in which he released his little book of translations, 1933, both published by Gyldendal. I have already devoted a number of pages of praise to this book in my *Walt Whitman Handbook*.[30] In fact, my own debt to Schyberg is

[30] G. W. Allen, *Walt Whitman Handbook* (Chicago, Packard and Co., 1946), pp. 63-73, *et passim*.

great, for his sixty-three-page chapter on *Whitman i Verdenslitteraturen* stimulated me to investigate the reception of Whitman abroad. Schyberg wrote his book out of a full knowledge of Whitman scholarship in America, England, France, and Germany. The biographical part of his book is superficial, but he was the first critic to trace accurately the growth of *Leaves of Grass* and to interpret the work with extensive knowledge of comparative literature. In my opinion Schyberg's book is one of the major contributions to Whitman scholarship.

In fact, in some respects Schyberg was ahead of American critics in understanding the psychology which produced the *Children of Adam* and *Calamus* poems. In these he found erotic impulses which were not entirely sublimated until *Drum-Taps*. A decade before Mr. Henry Seidel Canby he discovered that Whitman's poems were the expression of a dream life, a symbolic instead of a real world. The book deserves to be translated into English, though American students would not be especially interested in some parts of it.

Whitman had, meanwhile, not been entirely forgotten in Norway, for when Arne Kildal, former Norwegian press attaché in the United States, published his *Amerikas Stemme* in 1935, he devoted an enthusiastic chapter to Walt Whitman.[31] This essay, however, made no significant contribution to modern criticism of the poet, and the qualities which Kildal admired in him remind one of the previous interpretations of Schmidt, Janson, Jensen, and Houmann. Some of the points are: Whitman is not intellectual but intuitive; he searches for truth with his senses instead of his mind. Kildal compares him to a half-cultivated ground where beautiful garden flowers grow side by side with weeds and kitchen herbs. Even in his admiration this latest Norwegian critic still, like Hamsun two generations earlier, thinks of Walt Whitman as a wild poet in a semi-civilized land.

[31] Arne Kildal, *Walt Whitman*, in: *Amerikas Stemme: fra amerikansk Litteratur og Kulturliv* (Oslo, Steenske Forlag, 1935), pp. 69-84.

In Sweden Whitman attracted attention much later than in Denmark and Norway, though he finally gained a hearing there too. In 1905 Andrea Butenschön published a translation of *Proud Music of the Storm* and a fifteen-page laudatory essay on Whitman in the magazine, *Ord och Bild*.[32] Her interpretations were rather superficial, though rational and common-sense. She could praise the poet without idolizing him, as the Germans had done. She pointed out Whitman's Oriental and his peculiarly national characteristics, warning that America was a complex land and that Whitman would be difficult for European readers to understand. She contributed to this understanding, however, by quoting translated extracts from *Leaves of Grass* and analyzing key poems.

Schyberg's biographical study also aroused Swedish interest in Whitman, for in 1934 Roland Fridholm published an intelligent and discriminating essay on the American poet, calling him "Pindaros från Paumanok," in the same periodical, *Ord och Bild*.[33] Schyberg's influence is apparent not only in Fridholm's references to him but also in the information and the critical attitudes of the author toward his subject. The essay begins with Whitman's mysticism and proceeds, not unlike previous Scandinavian criticisms, to the poet's unique expression.

> He is like one of the American evangelists who wins souls quite as much by his blustering activity in the pulpit as through his exhortation. The endless stream of words and images in the earlier poems — litanies or catalogs, as he calls them — exercises at times a fascination similar to that of a juggler who keeps a dozen porcelain plates in the air, or a magician who sweeps a deck of cards into a curving arc without dropping one. The stream of associations flows on, exuberant and shifting like a dream, until the poet awakens and half-unwillingly checks himself, and with an effort saves the essence of the original imagery from the confusion he has spread out. This is sur-realism before [the period of] sur-realism. But it is also reminiscent of the evangelist's inspiration.[34]

Like Schyberg, Fridholm understood that Whitman's mysti-

[32] Andrea Butenschön, *Walt Whitman*, in: *Ord och Bild*, XIV: 351-367 (1905).

[33] Roland Fridholm, *Pindaros från Paumanok*, in: *Ord och Bild*, XLIII: 437-443 (1934).

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 438.

cism sprang from his hidden eroticism. His emotion, Fridholm says, was a sort of *amor sexualis*, a perpetual bridal night. In *Children of Adam* and *Calamus* the poet unconsciously betrayed his secret. This man who could take the whole cosmos into his bosom went around with an empty heart — a longing for a friend to love and be loved by. Women meant only mothers to him. So it was from men that he sought what others seek from women. That was his dangerous secret, which he expressed in *Out of the Cradle.* Thus Whitman was, in a sense, an undeveloped man, but his childlike outlook gave him a fresh wonder about everything. Because his overflowing love found no individual object, it expanded to embrace the cosmos, until in the Civil War he found a release and a sublimation.

Fridholm ends by saying that only in the last few years has Whitman acquired a following in Sweden, though his influence is hampered by the lack of a translation of his poems. "Possibly," he says, "Whitman's Swedish disciples fear that after a translation of the master's work their own poetry may, for many of their admirers, come to shine with the same pale light as a lamp which one forgets to extinguish when day breaks."[35]

An excellent Swedish translation came, however, only a year after Fridholm published this statement. In 1935 K. A. Svensson brought out a volume of selections, *Strån av Gräs*, with key poems from each of the fourteen sections of the definitive *Leaves of Grass*, beginning with *Inscriptions*, *Children of Adam*, *Calamus*, etc. and proceeding through *Sands at Seventy*, *Good-Bye My Fancy*, and *Old Age Echoes.* In addition to the sixty-seven poems in this edition, Svensson translated a prose essay, *A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads*, and also included in his book a biographical account of the poet, and, as an appendix, a critical study on *Emerson och Whitman.* Thus Sweden now has a more complete and more representative translation of *Leaves of Grass* than Denmark. Probably Walt Whitman's influence is just beginning in this country.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

III

The whole question of Whitman's influence in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden needs to be studied, and Schyberg, who is interested in the subject, is the man to undertake this difficult and subtle task. At the present time my knowledge of this influence is so superficial that I will not attempt any evaluation of my own in this paper. I will add, however, that Jensen has admitted[36] that Whitman influenced his prose in the earlier part of this century, and Schyberg has mentioned[37] the following poets who have either confessed to or obviously been touched by Whitmanism: Thøger Larsen, Otto Gelsted, Emil Bønnelycke, Tom Kristensen, Fredrik Nygaard, Aage Berntsen — these especially through the Jensen-Gelsted translations. In addition to these, there is the poet-translator Børge Houmann himself; and probably most important of all in Denmark at a certain period, Harald Bergstedt. For Norway Schyberg mentions only Sigurd Mathiesen, who visited America about the turn of the century. Concerning Sweden, Schyberg says, "it is only now [that was in 1934] in the most recent Swedish literature, the 'Cultivation of Life' sect, that Whitman seems about to get his due in Swedish territory, through the young lyricists, Gustav Sandgren, Erik Asklund, and Arthur Lundkvist."[38] This was, of course, before Svensson's translation appeared. Whether Whitman's influence in Sweden survived the war years, I do not know, though in a recent letter[39] from Schyberg he reports that Danish interest in Whitman was active during the German occupation. Schyberg himself once succeeded in getting a radio address on Whitman past the German censor, though it was banned on a second attempt. He reports also that Bergstedt used Whitman to support the Nazi "strength through joy" propaganda, and after Den-

[36] *Walt Whitman, Digte: Udvalg og med Indledning*, Johannes V. Jensen og Otto Gelsted (København — Kristania, Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1919), p. 10.

[37] Schyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-327.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 327.

[39] Letter dated April 2, 1946.

mark was freed Bergstedt was arrested as a "collaborator."[40] Houmann, however, the second Danish translator of *Leaves of Grass*, was active with Schyberg in the Danish "underground" movement.[41]

In conclusion, it can be said that although Walt Whitman has never had a cult in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as he did have at several times in France and Germany, nevertheless Scandinavians, with the sole exception of Knut Hamsun, have shown an intelligent and sane understanding of the author of *Leaves of Grass* and *Democratic Vistas*. This sanity and balance is almost unique among the European critics of Whitman, most of whom have blindly attacked or wildly eulogized him. Perhaps the discrimination of these northern critics is symptomatic of the good sense of the Scandinavian people. Most of them, too, seem to agree with Johannes V. Jensen, who declared in 1918: "America is a great book and *Leaves of Grass* is a key to open it."[42]

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Fleming Bergøe has given an account of the activities of Schyberg and other writers in the "underground" in *Det underlige Aar* (København, Thanig og Appels Forlag, 1945).

[42] Jensen, Gelsted, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Press Corrections and Presswork in the Elizabethan Printing Shop

By Francis R. Johnson

THE problem of how and when proofs were taken and read, and of exactly when, in the course of the presswork, corrections were customarily made, has in recent years received the active and painstaking investigation of students of Elizabethan book production. If the usual printing-house procedure could be definitely established, the modern editor, confronted by the variant readings in different copies of the same edition of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century book, could, with far greater assurance, separate corrected from uncorrected readings. Unfortunately, for the period before Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* (1683), first-hand testimony bearing directly on these questions is almost entirely lacking. Scholars have been forced to rely largely on inferences drawn from other, more precisely established, practices of early printers and from the nature and distribution of the variant formes in the surviving copies of printed books.

Two points now seem reasonably well established. One is that the proofs taken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were press proofs. There is no extant evidence to support the hypothesis that proofs were sometimes taken by hand from page-galleys.[1] The other is that, although Moxon implies that the pressman, after pulling a proof of a forme, immediately removed the chase containing that forme from the press and carried it to the

[1] Joseph Moxon, in 1683, describes the method of taking proofs in the press, with no hint that any other method was ever used; see *Mechanick Exercises*, ed. Theo. L. De Vinne (New York, New York Typothetae, 1896), II: 333-334.

correcting stone, this procedure was by no means always followed. The variants in extant copies prove that often a fairly large proportion of the impressions of a particular forme were pulled before corrections were made. The number and the type of errors in some of these uncorrected formes preclude the hypothesis that in all cases the variants could be explained as the consequence of second corrections made subsequent to an original proof-reading and correcting which took place before any sheets had been printed off.

Within the past six years three important and related studies have been published which, reasoning from the evidence of the variants in extant copies, attempt to establish the probable sequence of proof-correcting and presswork in the Elizabethan printing-house. In 1940 W. W. Greg issued his monograph on *The Variants in the First Quarto of 'King Lear,'*[2] which recorded the results of the most systematic collation which had been made up to that time of the variants in all extant copies of an Elizabethan book. From the variant readings that he tabulated, he conjectured that, in printing the Pide Bull Quarto of *King Lear*, the inner and outer formes of each sheet were imposed at the same time, then one of the formes put in the press and a proof-sheet pulled.[3] That forme was then removed to the correcting stone and the second forme put in the press, but, after pulling a proof-sheet, the pressman continued printing until the first forme had been corrected and returned. He then substituted the first forme for the second, and took the second to the correcting stone. With the now-corrected first forme he perfected the unrevised sheets of the second forme and printed on one side the remaining sheets of the impression. These were later perfected by the corrected second forme.

Dr. Greg evolved his theory of simultaneous imposition to account for the fact that none of the sheets of the extant copies of

[2] Supplement to the [London] Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*, No. 15.

[3] See *op. cit.*, Chap. IV.

the *King Lear* quarto exhibits variants in both inner and outer formes. The one apparent exception can be definitely explained as a second revision — the correction of a catchword made necessary by the correction of the first word of the ensuing page in the other forme of that sheet. The consequences of Greg's reconstruction of what he conjectures was a normal practice in a printing-house with only one press may be clarified by the following summary.

Let the two formes used to print any given sheet be designated as A and B, with A the first forme to have a proof-sheet pulled in the press and then be removed to the correcting stone. Forme B is then placed in the press, a proof pulled, and printing continued until the compositor has read proof and made the corrections for forme A. Provided that no second corrections were made later on in the course of printing, the following distribution of corrected and uncorrected formes would be observed in the extant copies: In all copies forme A would be invariant and in the corrected state. Forme B, however, would be variant, with the uncorrected states in some copies (usually less than half), and the corrected state in others.

In the second of the three studies mentioned above, Charlton Hinman takes exception to Greg's hypothesis, which he characterizes as "somewhat revolutionary" in so far as the procedure Greg describes is put forward as a "normal method of working."[4] Basing his conclusions on the collation of thirteen copies of the first quarto of *Othello* (1622), Dr. Hinman points out that Greg's theory is entirely reasonable when three or more skeletons (i.e., the imposed cross-bars, furniture, and running-titles of a forme) are used. But if only two skeletons are used throughout, as in the 1622 *Othello*, he asserts that this theory must be modified. One skeleton would not be available until after the second forme of the preceding sheet had been wrought off on the press. If delay

[4] Charlton Hinman, *New Uses for Headlines as Bibliographical Evidence*, in: *English Institute Annual, 1941* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 207-222.

were to be avoided, the two formes of a given sheet could not be imposed at the same time. Hinman proposes a modified procedure, using only two skeletons, which he outlines as follows:

(1) Forme A of a given sheet is imposed before presswork has been completed on forme B of the preceding sheet.

(2) Immediately work on forme B of the old sheet has been completed, forme A of the new sheet is put in the press. The first pull is sent to the proofreader, but printing from uncorrected A continues until forme B is imposed.

(3) Forme B of the new sheet is imposed with the skeleton taken from forme B of the old sheet; and before many copies of uncorrected A have been printed, therefore, forme B of the new sheet is ready for machining and hence is sent to the press to replace forme A. Again a proof sheet is pulled, and again printing from an uncorrected state continues — this time until forme A is corrected. Steps 4 and 5, exactly as in the *Lear*-method, now follow.

Result: A few, but not many, copies of forme A are in the uncorrected state. As in the *Lear*-method, some copies of forme B are in the uncorrected and some in the corrected state. If only a few exemplars of the edition survive, therefore, an uncorrected copy of an A-forme will occasionally, perhaps, but certainly not often, be found.[5]

In the third of these related studies, Edwin Wolf 2nd goes still farther by trying to work out the probable proportion and distribution of variant and invariant formes that would result from various methods of printing.[6] For convenience of presenting this material, he makes the arbitrary assumption that the pressmen could work off one token (250 sheets) of one forme while the compositor was reading proof and making the necessary corrections on the other forme. On this basis he compiles a table of the variations to be expected in extant copies if the presswork on the book proceeded in any one of five ways: (1) with one press, using one skeleton; (2) with one press, using two skeletons; (3) with one press, using three or more skeletons; (4) with two presses and two or more skeletons, the presses working simultaneously, each printing a different forme and perfecting the product of the

[5] P. 219 n.

[6] *Press Corrections in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Quartos*, in: the Bibliographical Society of America, *Papers* (New York, 1942), XXXVI: 187-198.

other approximately halfway through the edition; and (5) with two presses and "staggered printing," one press printing one forme of each sheet and the other perfecting.

I have summarized the essential points of these three studies of Greg, Hinman, and Wolf because the conjectures they propose must be considered in all future attempts to account for the variant readings in a given Elizabethan book, and because I wish here to add some facts and comments of my own pertinent to certain of these conjectures. On the one hand, from the collation of many copies of early editions of Spenser's works, I can add evidence tending to confirm some of the theories advanced; on the other, I wish to offer one grave objection to Hinman's proposed modification of Greg's hypothesis of the simultaneous imposition of both formes of a sheet — a modification that is further elaborated in Wolf's study.

One may begin, I think, with a cautious reminder that printing-house practice was undoubtedly variable on many points, capable within certain limits of being altered to suit special circumstances. To this one must add the corollary that all parts of the printing process are closely interlinked, so that a change which might seem a desirable means of avoiding delay at one stage of the process would be rejected if it would simultaneously introduce confusion and possible delay at a later stage and thus sacrifice everything that had been gained. Dr. Greg, with this interdependence of the several phases of the printing process in mind, was needlessly troubled, in arguing for his theory, by the erroneous assumption, based upon McKerrow,[7] that in the printing-house the sheets of paper were hung up to dry between the printing of the first and second sides. R. C. Bald has demonstrated — conclusively, I believe — that the sheets were not dried until after they had been perfected.[8] Therefore, with the disappear-

[7] *Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 23.

[8] *Evidence and Inference in Bibliography*, in: *English Institute Annual, 1941*, pp. 178-181.

ance of this difficulty, Greg's hypothesis is strengthened. In fact, in a shop with only one press, simultaneous imposition would, in my opinion, be a reasonable and normal practice. Furthermore, the consequences of this hypothesis agree with the observed facts in a large proportion of the extant copies of Elizabethan books which have been carefully collated for variants. An overwhelming majority exhibit variants in one forme only, and that forme is as frequently the outer forme as the inner, which is what one would expect to find if both formes were customarily imposed at the same time. When variants occur in both formes, those in one are often the sort that might well have escaped the first proofreading and been corrected at a later stage in the printing. This is true, as Greg demonstrates, of the Pide Bull quarto of *King Lear*. In the 1622 *Othello*, Hinman finds no sheet having variants in both formes. The variants in Spenser's *Complaints* (1591), which I noted in preparing my *Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser*[9] and which were amplified and more fully tabulated by Harold Stein in his *Studies in Spenser's "Complaints,"*[10] conform to the same pattern. Of the 23 sheets in the volume, 11 show variants in one form only — 5 in the inner forme and 6 in the outer forme. Signature V contains variants in both formes, but the four noted in the outer forme are of the sort that a proofreader would normally correct, whereas the single correction of the inner forme consists of a change that is far more likely to be the author's last-minute improvement of his text. The uncorrected reading on V_2^r (line 196 of *Muiopotmos*) is

Poppie, and drink-quickning Setuale,

which is revised to read:

Dull Poppie, and drink-quickning Setuale,

Out of the 8 copies checked, the corrected reading appears in 5, the uncorrected in 3.

[9] Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933.

[10] New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 176-179.

Although fewer copies of Spenser's *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1595) were systematically collated for variants, no sheet of the volume was found to contain variants in both formes.

As bibliographers accumulate further data on variants in Elizabethan books, the case for Dr. Greg's hypothesis of simultaneous imposition of outer and inner formes when *two* or more skeletons and one press were used will, I believe, be greatly strengthened. We may, even now, accept it with some confidence as a normal printing-house procedure under the given circumstances. Both Hinman and Wolf fully agree to it when *three* or more skeletons were employed, but it is at exactly this point that I raise my only objection to their theories. These rest entirely upon the assumption that, when only two skeletons were being used, the avoiding of a slight delay would be considered so imperative that the pressman would continue to pull a few impressions of forme A (in the uncorrected state), as well as the proof-sheet, while waiting for the compositor to impose forme B, the skeleton for which would not be at his disposal until after the press had finished perfecting the preceding sheet of the book. Both scholars admit that the delay would be very slight, and that the resulting copies with forme A in the uncorrected state would be exceedingly rare. Hinman could find no examples in his collation of the 1622 *Othello*. Moreover, as Wolf points out, if the printing of a new sheet began after such a break as an overnight pause, there would be no time lost in waiting for the second skeleton to become available.

The method Hinman proposes would nevertheless be a likely and reasonable means of saving a little time were it not for this fact: it would make the handling of the heap of paper laid out for the printing of each edition-sheet so complex as completely to counterbalance any conceivable gain. This point, overlooked by Hinman, is of sufficient importance, I believe, to warrant our doubting that any Elizabethan printing-house proceeded in the

way he suggests. If only two skeletons were being used, the occasional slight delay while waiting for the second skeleton would be accepted as a matter of course. In fact, if one considers the time required for removing the heap of perfected sheets, setting out the new heap of "white-paper," adjusting a clean tympan-sheet, and otherwise making ready at the press for the printing of the next sheet, there would rarely be any period of idleness for the pressmen resulting from the two-skeleton, simultaneous-imposition method.

But let us now consider both the Greg and the Hinman theory from the point of view of the management of the heap of "white-paper" set out for the pressmen to work off. Moxon describes only the normal process, in which one side was completely wrought off before any sheets were perfected.[11] Yet the modification of the usual procedure required by Greg's theory could be managed simply enough. When forme A, corrected, was returned to the press and forme B removed for correction, the pressman could take the pile of sheets already printed on one side from the uncorrected forme B, turn it upside down, and place it on top of the unwrought heap, taking care first to place a sheet of paper on the heap to prevent ink marring the good top sheet. From that point on, the heap could be handled in the normal way.

Turn now to the modification necessitated by Hinman's theory. After a few copies (say 50) of the uncorrected state of forme A had been printed, forme B, uncorrected, would be put in the press. From this point on, the sheets printed from uncorrected A must be kept carefully segregated. The printer might either perfect them at once, then set them aside, in which case the uncorrected state of A would always be found in conjunction with the uncorrected state of B. This would be the simplest method. The alternative would be to hold out these sheets and perfect them last, so that uncorrected A would always appear with cor-

[11] *Op cit.*, II: 326-327, 345.

rected B. By either method, the disturbance of normal procedure and consequent danger of error involved would make the process impractical as a labor-saving device.

If we therefore disregard Hinman's conjecture that a special procedure was employed when printing was done with one press and only two skeletons — and I do not believe we can accept it as a fruitful hypothesis until more cogent evidence is produced in its favor — Wolf's table, so modified, of theoretical expectancies of variant and invariant copies should prove most useful to future investigators. Remembering that his rough estimates assume that 25 per cent of the total number of impressions of each forme would be printed off while the proof-reading and correcting of the other forme was taking place, we must not forget that in most actual cases the correction of one forme would be completed in less time than that required for the other. This would particularly affect the pattern of variants in books printed with one press and one skeleton, or with two presses, using "staggered printing." My conclusions, then, would support Wolf's conjectures with the following modification and further suggestions.

1. His table[12] for the results in a book printed on one press, using one skeleton is correct, with, of course, the allowances which he is aware must be made for one forme being revised more quickly than the other. Furthermore, I would suggest that an examination of the running-titles in the plays in which he reports finding his 17 sheets with both formes variant might prove that some of them had been printed and perfected with the same skeleton. In those instances in which two or more skeletons were in use, the variants in one of the formes might be shown, as in the case of sheet K in the *King Lear* quarto, to be the consequence of a second, and later correction.

2. His conjectural reconstruction of the results from printing with one press and two skeletons, being based on Hinman's hypothesis, should be rejected because the method described is un-

[12] P. 198.

wieldy and there is no evidence of its use in any Elizabethan printing-shop.

3. His table for one press and *three* skeletons or more should read *two* skeletons or more, but is otherwise correct.

4. His reconstruction of the results of simultaneous printing with two presses is sound as a hypothesis, but I am inclined to believe that this method was rarely employed in this period. It involved added complexities, especially if the work on the two presses did not progress at exactly the same rate, and offered no marked advantages over the method next described. Until collations of variants which point definitely to simultaneous printing can be produced, we cannot confidently accept it as a usual procedure.

5. His reconstruction of the consequences, in variant formes, of the use of two presses with the second perfecting after the first had completed the printing of one side of the sheet is sound, and can be substantiated by the variants discovered in copies of the 1590 *Faerie Queene*. Suppose 25 per cent of the impressions of forme A are run off before it is corrected, and 35 per cent of forme B. Then, since the sheets would be perfected in the order in which they were first printed, 25 per cent of the perfected sheets will have both formes incorrect, 10 per cent will have A in the corrected state and B in the uncorrected state, and 65 per cent will have both formes correct. This proportion corresponds almost exactly to that discovered in the inner sheet of the H gathering in the 19 copies of the 1590 *Faerie Queene* checked during the preparation of the variorum edition of Spenser.[13] This sheet contains variants in both the inner and outer formes, all obvious misprints that would be detected in careful proof-reading. In 12 of the copies both formes are in the corrected state; in 5

[13] *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw and others (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1932), I: 518-519. In my *Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser* I presented (pp. 16-17) evidence supporting the hypothesis that the 1590 *Faerie Queene* was printed, in large part, at least, on two presses, using four sekletons.

copies both formes are in the uncorrected state; in 2 copies we have the corrected outer forme and the uncorrected inner forme. In a book upon which two presses were engaged, this method, I believe, was the one regularly employed.

Further evidence, above all, is the great desideratum before any of our reconstructions of doubtful points of Elizabethan printing-house practice can rest upon as secure a foundation as we would wish. Even so, we must always remember that the normal procedure, whatever it may have been, was constantly subject to all the varieties of accidental variation which characterize every activity carried on by human beings. My purpose in this article has been to review certain recent and fruitful hypotheses proposed by Greg, Hinman, and Wolf, and to contribute a few additional bits of evidence toward either substantiating or slightly revising these hypotheses.

There Was A Little Girl:

Its First Printings · Its Authorship · Its Variants

By Sidney Kramer

I

THE nursery rhyme "There Was a Little Girl and She Had a Little Curl" is attributed, at least in its first verse, to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. That there is no manuscript at Craigie House, and that the lines have not appeared in any authentic collection of Longfellow poems, are not, considering the nature of the lines, final arguments in disproof of Longfellow's authorship.

The roughly contrived lines and the inelegance of the words — particularly "horrid" — contrast so strongly with Longfellow's manner of composition, as to allow doubt whether Longfellow did originate the rhyme. Add the consideration that even the earliest-known versions are both varied in language and extended in length from that connected with the name of Longfellow, and there is a textual problem.

On the bibliographical side, questions are raised by such facts as the following: (1) the attribution appeared first in print some two months after the poet's death on March 24, 1882; (2) earlier and anonymous printings date back at least to 1870; (3) Longfellow, if the author, must have composed the rhyme in the late fifties.

Since the circumstances of each of the early printings have bearing on the mooted question, and the early history of any classic of the nursery is not without interest, I am going to comment on all the printings so far known up to the year 1882, and discuss the most important since that year.

II

Exhibit A is a broadside measuring in the original 8 x 5 inches. This copy, so far unique, was presented to a New York collector in 1936 by the late Mrs. Louis Mansfield Ogden, who wrote at that time: "it was found in a tin box containing letters received by my father, William Gilbert Davies, ranging in date from 1857 to 1870." The place of receipt, if not of origin, of the little humorous token was presumably New York City, the residence of W. G. Davies. There is nothing in the printed accounts of his life as soldier, lawyer, and authority on insurance to indicate that he was given to pranks in print, or to the composition of light verse. The only poem preserved in his collected *Papers and Addresses* (1907) is the "Class-Day Poem," of Trinity College, 1860, described in its closing strophes as "awkward, halting rhyme" and decidedly not humorous. The broadside, then, must be taken *quoad* Davies as the work of an unknown author and anonymous printer. Where it was printed may also remain a mystery until other copies with a more complete provenance come to light. The paper, wove and therefore without watermark, and the types are common to both the United States and Great Britain. As to the when, Mrs. Ogden's letter supplies the terminal year, and its earliest date is probably 1865. That is, the combination of types used was not possible before that year.

The black-letter heading (see illustration opposite) is what was generally known as German Text Open, and had been in common use since the 1840's. The body type is one of the Modernized Old Style family, naturalized in this country in 1863, when A. C. Phemister, who had cut the first of this series for Miller & Richard of Edinburgh in 1860, issued "Franklin Old Style" for Dickinson of Boston. The subtitle wording, "A Poem," is in a curious display letter, never cut in lower case, but only in capitals and small capitals, and not found in England or the United States before 1865. It had many names among the founders during its brief vogue: it is called "Ornamented" in

Wrong Side Up.

A Poem.

There was once a little girl,
And she had a little curl
Right in the middle of her forehead.
And when she was good
She was very, *very* good,
And when she was naughty, she was horrid!

One day she went up-stairs,
And her parents, unawares,
Were both of 'em lookin' out the winder.
She stood upon her head
In the middle of the bed,
Thinking nobody nigh for to hinder.

Her mother heard a noise,
And she thought it was the boys
A-playin' in the big empty attic;
So she slyly crept up-stairs,
And she caught her unawares,
And spanked her on the bottom most emphatic!

MORAL.

Little girls—as well as big—
If you want to run a rig,
Be certain that your mother doesn't know it.
If your chamber-door is locked,
Nobody will be shocked—
You can have your little fun, and never show it!

the type-specimen of the Bruce Foundry of New York dated November 1865. We may therefore date the broadside between 1865 and 1870.

The broadside is unique on other counts than its form and its rarity: its title, "Wrong Side Up," and its fourth verse or "Moral." Neither the title nor the verse appear in any other printing so far known. It is submitted, not in a censorious vein, that the faint aura of naughtiness pervading the "Moral" is the very reason for this separate printing and distribution, and that at least that verse was new at the time of its production.

Putting aside discussion of the language and length of this version, there is a detail to remark on before leaving Exhibit A — the phrase "run a rig" in the last verse. Its sportive meaning, *i.e.*, to romp or climb about, is clear enough, but, apparently never a phrase in common usage, it was certainly archaic and provincial by the mid-nineteenth century. It is not an Americanism — at least I have not found it in the specifically American dialect glossaries, but rather in those for the southwestern counties of England. Perhaps a philologist would find the phrase and some others a help in identifying the time and place of authorship of this version. So far I have the word of one of the most eminent scholars of Americanisms that "run a rig" has never been current in this country.

Exhibit B is the earliest dated printing come upon, filling out one inch of the last column of the second page of the issue for December 21, 1870, No. 2 of *The Reveille*. It was discovered last year in the reading of a photographic copy of a file of Fair papers preserved at the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts, and the particular issue is, so far, unique in that collection. *The Reveille* is an ephemeral newspaper, of which four 8-page issues, 13¼ x 9¼ inches, were "Published Daily for the Grand Army Fair" at Salem. The editor remained anonymous, but the names of the better-known contributors were set out in the masthead. Longfellow is not to be found named: his acquaintance with more than

THE REVEILLE.

Published Daily for the Grand Army Fair.

o. 2.} WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1870. [PRICE 10 CENTS.

ale at the Fair, at the Bookstores, Streets, and in the Cars.

ratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to the ng contributors to the columns of the Reveille:

ffin, Esq., (Carleton,)	Miss E. S. Merritt,
arles T. Brooks,	Miss Amanda Low,
nes Very,	Miss L. L. A. Very,
B. Willson,	Miss Sarah W. Lander,
K. Oliver,	Mrs. E. F. Condit,
m. Cogswell,	Mrs. Nathaniel Silsbee,
eorge H. Devereux,	Mrs. Jared Sparks,
ohn R. Lakeman,	Miss Harriet E. Hunt,
G. Bovey,	Mrs. Moses G. Farmer,
A. Horton,	Miss C. R. Derby,
H. Webber,	"C." and "D. J. T."

THE REVEILLE.

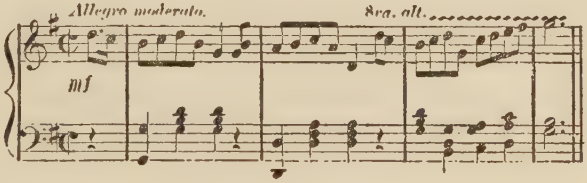
EM, WEDNESDAY, DEC. 21, 1870.

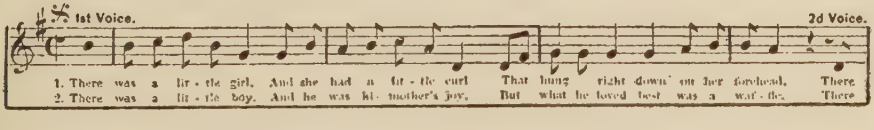
There was a little dirl,
And she had a little tirl,
Right in the middle of her fodhead.
When she was dood, she was veddy, veddy dood,
And when she was bad, she was hoddid.

We have received from "Mabelle" and "Carlton" more papers than it is possible to issue.

THERE WAS A LITTLE GIRL.

FOR THREE VOICES.





THE following little nursery rhyme deserves to be incorporated into Mother Goose's Melodies:

There was a little girl,
And she had a little curl
That hung right down on her forehead;
And when she was good
She was very good indeed,
But when she was bad she was horrid.

TOP. Masthead of *The Reveille*, Exhibit B. AT RIGHT: Verse printed therein.
CENTER. Top of p. [8] of *Balloon Post*, Exhibit C.
FOOT. Verse printed in Lyon pamphlet. Exhibit D.

one of those named, and the proximity of Salem to Nahant, where the poet maintained his summer home, may be remarked as tenuous lines of connection.

Newspapers, even ephemeral and "literary" ones, do strive for the current: the rhyme, then, must have been going the rounds as a single verse, and probably as a novelty, in 1870. Perhaps it was the spelling that was novel: Exhibit B can be called the "baby-talk" or "cute" redaction.

Exhibit C is from another and better-known Fair paper, *Balloon Post*, No. 1, April 11, 1871, where the poem appeared in its first musical setting on pages [8-9]. Six numbers of this ephemeral daily were issued for the Fair in Aid of the Destitute People of France, at Boston, under the editorship of Susan Hale. It is this printing that has heretofore been considered the first, and has been described and discussed by Mr. Wilson in the catalogue of the Wesleyan University exhibit of *Familiar Quotations* and by the late Merle Johnson in *You Know These Lines*.[1] The text, eliminating the repeats for round singing, is:

There was a little girl,
And she had a little curl
That hung right down on her forehead.
And when she was good
She was very good indeed,
But when she was bad, she was horrid.

There was a little boy,
And he was his mother's joy,
But what he loved best was a waffle.
With a waffle in his mouth
He was sweeter than the South,
But when it was gone, he was awful.

[1] [Carroll A. Wilson] *First Appearance in Print of Some Four Hundred Familiar Quotations*. Exhibited at the Olin Memorial Library, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., February 24-March 23, 1935 [Middletown, 1935], p. 200; Merle Johnson, *You Know These Lines! A Bibliography of the Most Quoted Verses in American Poetry* (New York: G. A. Baker & Company, 1935), pp. 162-163.

This is the first printing of the version in which the fourth and fifth lines of the first verse do not rhyme.

There is nowhere in *Balloon Post* indication of an author of the verses for the song. There are two other musical settings in the paper, with credit lines to Bret Harte and C. P. Cranch, and each with copyright notice in the name of O. Ditson & Co. The composer of all three is given in No. 3, p. 6, as Frank Boott. It was to him that the copyright certificate for "There Was A Little Girl," was returned, on April 13, 1871, according to the records at the Library of Congress, where a proof of the first page of the song is preserved. None of the three pieces was ever issued for commercial sale, although at this time the composer and the publisher combined to produce a number of musical settings for Longfellow's poems, as well as several of Harte's.

It seems out of the question that Susan Hale, the editor of the paper, could have received the piece directly from Longfellow. He was a not infrequent contributor to the charity fair journals; he more often sent his autograph, as he did to this French Fair;[2] Susan Hale was a member of a family well acquainted with the Longfellows, although herself older than any of the children. She left a full account of the preparation of *Balloon Post* in letters to her brother Charles, writing, on March 26, 1871:

> I set to work by writing to, or attacking personally all the people in the world I could think of, either distinguished or otherwise, who would write well; the results are constant arrivals of articles; some, of course, very poor, but some, very nice.[3]

The persons mentioned in her letters and others, appear among the contributors, where there are such well-known literary names

[2] Longfellow's name appears in *Balloon Post's* list of those whose signatures were available. Two graceful notes of February 15 and 20, 1871, forwarding six and a dozen autographs respectively, to a "Miss E. C———" do not name the fair for which they were given, but probably refer to the French Fair. Printed in: *Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, Samuel Longfellow, editor (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1887), pp. 153-154.

[3] Caroline P. Atkinson, editor, *Letters of Susan Hale* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1919), p. 67.

as J. T. Fields, E. E. Hale, John Hay, W. D. Howells, Helen Hunt, Henry James, and S. Weir Mitchell. It is hard to think that if Susan Hale had known Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to be the originator of the verses, she would not have used his name.

The question is still open, whether Frank Boott and Susan Hale believed at the time that they were using something well known or something novel. It has also to be stated that Miss Hale was herself an accomplished parodist and nonsense-versifier. Her activities in these fields are represented in *Balloon Post* and other journals, and she already had, in the 1860's, prepared two complete manuscript books of verse, with her own illustrations. These were published only after her death, in facsimile.[4] The style of her pen-drawing is so similar to that of the little girl in the heading of *Balloon Post* that it may be presumed to be her illustration. It is surely possible as well that Miss Hale was the author of at least the second verse, about the little boy who liked waffles — which appears nowhere else.

Exhibit D, entitled *Vol. 2. Song & Story for the Homestead in Every Land and Clime*, is called the Lyon pamphlet because it was issued for advertising purposes by a patent-medicine firm, Lyon Manufacturing Co., 53 Park Place, New York City. "Vol. 2" means the second annual issue: the first has not been found, and the copy of the second here described and reproduced is, so far, unique. The existence of the Lyon pamphlet, added to the evidence of the broadside, *Balloon Post*, and *The Reveille*, shows that in the seventies the jingle in all its variants — 1, 2, and 3 verse forms — was to a considerable extent common knowledge, and without benefit of authorship. A 32-page pamphlet in brown pictorial covers, 6½ x 4¾ inches, it was not copyrighted or otherwise recorded, but it cannot have been issued earlier than January 1877, as there is included *The Modern and Medieval Ballad of*

[4] Susan Hale, *Inklings for Thinklings; Nonsense Book: A Collection of Limericks* (Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1919).

Mary Jane from the issue of *St. Nicholas* for that date, nor later than 1879 when Lyon moved from the address given.

The compiler of the Lyon pamphlet was wiser than he knew when he introduced the rhyme in a single verse, on page 9, with the suggestion that "it deserves to be incorporated into Mother Goose's Melodies." The single verse, although not his exact words, has become imbedded in the folklore of the nursery: it is to be found in many current editions of nursery rhymes issued in the name of Mother Goose. The sound, if not the sense, of "There Was A Little Girl" is to be found, moreover, in the earliest and "authentic" eighteenth century Mother Goose and other collections of nursery rhymes. I refer to the delightful narrative rhymes whose first verse is:

> There was a little man,
> And he woo'd a little maid,
> And he said, little maid, will you wed, wed, wed?
> I have little more to say,
> Than will you, yea or nay,
> For least said is soonest mended, '-ded, -ded.

The use of the same construction in a poem of Thomas Moore was the starting point for a recent interesting discussion in *American Notes & Queries*, begun by Professor Mabbott with an article *A Longfellow Parody: From Thomas Moore.*[5]

Exhibit E* is an anonymous arrangement, using words for the first verse only and under the title "The Girl With the Curl," made by the Philadelphia musician A. H. Rosewig for his collection of *Illustrated National Nursery Songs and Games*, 11½ x 9⅛ inches, in an illustrated and richly-colored paper cover. The copyright claimant and publisher, W. F. Shaw of Philadelphia, uses the date 1879; the volume was received at the Library of

[5] T. O. Mabbott, *A Longfellow Parody: From Thomas Moore*, in: *American Notes & Queries*, IV: 22-23 (New York, 1944); two letters of comment, IV: 46; rejoinder, IV: 57-58.

* Not illustrated here.

Congress in 1880. Despite the self-conscious title and the claim in the preface that "this is really the first book containing any of our own AMERICAN NURSERY Songs and Children's Plays, ever published," the texts are practically entirely old British verses; and it is not clearly stated whether the melodies to the "familiar songs" are presented as traditional or original.

Two new and different settings of the poem, still anonymous, appeared in *St. Nicholas Songs*, a handsome quarto sponsored by the magazine, edited by Waldo S. Pratt, and published by the Century Company, New York, 1885. The composers were Samuel P. Warren and G. W. Chadwick, each using a two-verse text, where the second is identical —

> There was a little chap
> And he had a fur cap,
> Which came to the middle of his forehead;
> And when he was cold
> He was very, very cold,
> But when he was warm, he was torrid.

but where the first verses vary slightly. The first verse in the Warren version (pages 42-43), reads: "good . . . good indeed" and corresponds with exhibits C and D, viz: —

> There was a little girl, And she had a little curl,
> Right down the middle of her forehead;
> And when she was good, She was very good indeed,
> But when she was bad, She was horrid!

In that the third line of the Chadwick version (pages 128-129) reads: "good . . . very good," it corresponds with Exhibits A and B, viz:

> There was a little girl, And she had a little curl
> Right down in the middle of her forehead,
> And when she was good, she was very, very good,
> But when she was bad, she was horrid.

The Longfellow attribution does not seem to have penetrated into musical circles, either here, or when "There Was a Little Girl" was issued as a song "Set for Mezzo Soprano by Jas. T. Quarles" by Balmer & Weber in St. Louis, 1905, or made (with extraneous additions) into "An Operetta for Children by Paul Bliss" and published in 1911 by the John Church Company of Cincinnati.

Exhibits A-E include all the basic variants of the rhyme: a single verse, two verses with the sexes balanced, and a narrative of three verses. (The fourth verse or "Moral" of the broadside Exhibit A must be considered a forced, and not a natural, accretion to the text.) In their various appearances as separate printing, column filler in ephemeral newspaper and pamphlet, and musical setting, they have in common only their anonymity and their appearance within a span of perhaps fifteen years in various eastern cities. It is hard to think that other printings may not become known, perhaps earlier and anywhere; these are evidence of currency of circulation, perhaps of novelty, in their time.

III

Exhibit F* is the single verse as it appeared with its first attribution to the poet on page 90 of *The Home Life of Henry W. Longfellow*, by Blanche Roosevelt Tucker-Macchetta. Published in New York by G. W. Carleton & Co., with the imprint 1882, it was copyrighted May 13 of that year. The book is relatively common, at least compared with the rarities we have had hitherto to deal with. Still it can hardly be called generally available, and as the reference to Longfellow's authorship is circumstantial, the relevant text, on pages 89-91, is given here:

A momentary lull gave me a chance to speak, and not interrupt.

"Yes," said I, deliberately, when all had finished, "there is no accounting for the rubbish that will in spite of judicious weeding find its way to publicity; the

* Not illustrated here.

authors are never known, and perhaps it is as well. I can at present only call to mind one instance, under the head of poetry, which runs as follows: or " — I stopped with an inquiring look around, and half hesitatingly ventured to retract my implied idea of repeating it. In vain — an earnest "Pray go on," "continue," in which the professor's voice was uppermost in the chorus, positively insisted on hearing the aforesaid "rubbish"; clearing my throat, I began —

"There was a little durl,
And she had a little curl
That hung in the middle of her forehead,
When she was dood,
She was very dood indeed,
But when she was bad she was horrid."

I looked up triumphantly as the last line rang out. Depict, imagine, my confusion when the poet raised his eyes, and with a faint smile, said: "Why! those are my words, are they not, Annie," turning to his youngest daughter, who at that moment was gracefully coming through the low window opening out on the terrace, at the same time repeating the identical rhythm that but a moment before I had signalized as a sample of "rubbish." Miss Annie looked up laughingly, and said in her cheery voice, "Why, of course, papa, that comes in your nursery collection. Don't you remember when Edith was a little girl and didn't want to have her hair curled, you took her up in your arms, and shaking your finger at her, commenced, 'There was a little girl,' " etc. etc. The poet laughed, they all laughed, and I, in spite of my discomfiture, joined in the general merriment.

It is possible to be earnestly literal about this evidence: to point out, for example, that there is an ambivalence in the few words of direct quotation from Longfellow, as to the exact character of his authorship; or that Miss Roosevelt used a baby-talk version and Annie Longfellow one in plain English; or that Annie, younger by three years than Edith, cannot have been using direct memory; or that there is no answer given to the final direct charge, but only a laugh. But even to a doubting Thomas, it is clear that the reporter was convinced that Henry Wadsworth Longfellow had admitted the authorship of "There Was a Little Girl." What were her qualifications as a reporter and what were the circumstances of the making of her book?

The Home Life of Henry W. Longfellow was the first book of a

lady who was already a personage by virtue of a brief and not unsuccessful career as a singer abroad and in the United States. Born in 1853, Blanche Roosevelt Tucker, the daughter of a member of Congress from Virginia, became the Marchesa Macchetta d'Alligri, but was known best by her stage and pen name of Blanche Roosevelt, and died in London in 1898. Her later works included both fiction and biographical sketches. The novel *Stage-Struck, or She Would Be an Opera-Singer* was several times reprinted, and her memoir of Doré was sufficiently well regarded to be translated into French.

As the full title fairly indicates, and the introductory matter clearly states, Miss Roosevelt was a late acquaintance of the poet. She was introduced to Longfellow by his brother-in-law, Nathan Appleton, whom she had met in Paris in 1879. The incident which has been quoted dates to a stay at the Longfellow summer home at Nahant in July 1880, when a journal was maintained (at the suggestion of the poet, the author states on page 11). Longfellow did not know that this book was in preparation until a call in Cambridge on December 28, 1881, when there had been "prepared more than half the present work" (p. 12). Longfellow is said to have "expressed himself as very much pleased with my idea and what I had done," but distinctly disapproved of efforts to make her book appear to be authorized, remarking, in a letter of March 14, 1882 to "My dear Pandora":[6]

> You must not think I am much troubled by what the newspapers say. I only wish they would get things right. It seems to me more proper for me to know nothing of the book, beforehand, except so far as matters of fact are concerned.[7]

Two witnesses who were at Nahant during "Pandora's" brief but publicized visit (according to page 81 of her book) and

[6] She sang Pandora in the opera "The Masque of Pandora" arranged for the stage by Bolton Rowe, from Longfellow's poem (with some help from the poet), produced in Boston, Jan. 10, 1881.

[7] Not included in Miss Roosevelt's printed text, but reproduced in facsimile between frontispiece and title of *The Home Life of Henry W. Longfellow*. The quotation is from p. [2] of the letter. The reference is to a "puff" of the book placed in the *Evening Transcript* for the same date.

could have given perfect corroboration, are not mentioned in her story of the discovery of the authorship of the rhyme. Neither of these important bystanders has left a comment — at least in print. One was Edith Longfellow, then Mrs. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., for whom the rhyme is supposed to have been composed (according to the legend, perhaps about 1857 or 1858, for she was born in 1853). The other was the very Susan Hale who had printed the first musical setting of the rhyme, when she edited *Balloon Post* in 1871. Even if neither had been present at the moment of discussion, had it created half the furor that Miss Roosevelt reports, the episode might have been mentioned in the correspondence of a "prolific letter writer," as Susan Hale is called by the editor of her *Letters*. Unfortunately a "Great Interruption" in her letters between 1873 and 1882 is recorded in the printed volume from which I have already quoted.

Alice Longfellow, eldest of the three Longfellow daughters (b. 1850), writing in 1897 on her father's habits with the children, does not mention the disputed rhyme,[8] although there is the general statement:

> Taking a tired and fretful child in his arms, he would walk up and down quickly, singing some little rhyme, and peace and happiness were soon restored.[9]

The family did not concern itself with the matter in the period after Longfellow's death when the poem was attaching itself to his name, any more than they had in the period when it was apparently getting its first, anonymous, circulation. It was an inter-

[8] Nor is it to be found in the various volumes and articles that include Longfellow's juvenilia and occasional verse, or are concerned with Longfellow as "The Children's Poet." In this literature, however, is found a report that he recited

> What are little girls made of?
> Sugar and spice
> And all things nice, —
> That's what little girls are made of.

on Brattle Street to James Russell Lowell. — W. Sloane Kennedy, *Henry W. Longfellow* (Chicago & New York: The Werner Company, 1895), p. 246.

[9] Alice Longfellow, *Longfellow With His Children*, in: *The Strand Magazine*, XIV (London, 1897), 252.

esting point of publicity, however, and after Carleton, the publisher of the Roosevelt or Tucker-Macchetta book, the editors and readers of *Youth's Companion* and *St. Nicholas*, and Worthington, the publisher of a gift edition of the poem had been heard from, the attribution had been made known widely. "Reader" contributed to the December 7, 1882 issue of *The Youth's Companion* (Vol. 55, p. 525), Miss Roosevelt's account of the passage at Nahant, edited to correct the baby talk, and otherwise altered into the rhyming version:

> There was a little girl,
> And she had a little curl
> That hung in the middle of her forehead;
> When she was good,
> She was very very good
> But when she was bad she was horrid.

The Letterbox of *St. Nicholas Magazine* for May 1883 carried an inquiry from "F. I. G." in Philadelphia, concerning the authorship of the rhyme, that was answered by "S. C." of Simonsville, Vermont, in the issue of August 1883 (Vol. 10, p. 796) with a reprint of the note in *The Youth's Companion*, and a statement from the editors of *St. Nicholas* that they had "received many other letters stating that Longfellow wrote the verse in question."

The Worthington book, which bore the name and the picture of Longfellow on the front of its heavily decorated cover, doubtless helped to plant the association firmly in the minds of those who had purchased it in the eighties as a gift book, and later as a collector's piece. Publication was announced in *Publishers' Weekly* for August 11, 1883 (Vol. 24, p. 169):

R. Worthington has made a very pretty and amusing child's book out of the recently acknowledged verses of Longfellow, beginning, "There was a little girl, and she had a little curl."

Worthington advertised in the issue of September 22, 1883 (Vol 24, p. 400):

"THERE WAS A LITTLE GIRL."

By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Illustrated by Bertha M. Schaeffer, and adorned with rich illuminated initials and other designs in chromolithography and silhouettes. Oblong 12mo, with an exquisite and original cover printed in the highest style of lithographic art. With fine silk fringe, and inclosed in box, $1.50.

Twenty un-numbered pages, 5 x 8⅜ inches, the cover lithographed in color and the title in red and black, each page has red rules; the text is on the left-hand pages, with decorative initials and ornaments in color, and the right-hand pages are given over to black & white silhouette illustrations. For all this trouble of production, the text is murderously bad, mangling not only the first verse, but the two others of the narrative version. For these additional lines under the name of Longfellow, there was, of course, no authority at all, and the book, if not to be called a piracy, was certainly not authorized by official correspondence.

Still the attribution did not take hold in all quarters. The anthologists of humorous verse, children's poetry and famous quotations, as we shall see, are to this day of many opinions concerning Longfellow's part in the creation of the first, and the other verses. And the first verse became so far assimilated to "Mother Goose"[10] that in 1922 when Ernest Longfellow introduced the poem into a discussion of his childhood of seventy years back (b. 1845), he entered a gentle protest. This is the only reference in print made by a member of the family to our disputed question.

[10] Actually the verse does not appear in any of the Mother Goose collections in England or America, nineteenth or twentieth century, that were edited in the historical tradition. For example, it never made the grade in the enormously popular and periodically reissued collections of *Mother Goose's Nursery Rhymes, Chimes & Jingles*. The first nursery collection of general circulation in which it was included was *Sugar and Spice, And All That's Nice*. Selected by the Editor of "Quiet Hours" [Mary Wilder Tileston] (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885). It is printed on p. 7, without attribution, and in the "good . . . very good" version.

It was while walking up and down with his second daughter [Edith], then a baby in his arms, that my father composed and sang to her the well-known lines:

"There was a little girl,
Who had a little curl,
Right in the middle of her forehead,
When she was good
She was very good indeed,
But when she was bad she was horrid."

Many people think this a Mother-Goose rhyme but this is the true version and history.[11]

In the present generation of the family, Mr. H. W. L. Dana, the present occupant of Craigie House, has expressed himself in a letter of June 22, 1945, to Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, Director of the American Antiquarian Society, and made available for this study (the significant long italics are mine):

Personally I know of no evidence that Mr. Longfellow ever *wrote* these lines — that is wrote them in the sense of sitting down deliberately and, putting pen to paper, writing them out. The fact that *none of the many pictures of his daughters as children shows any curl in the middle of a forehead*, and that he would not have liked to perpetuate the rhyme "forehead-horrid" — any more than he would have the bad grammar of the spurious second stanza "attick-emphatic," makes it seem doubtful that he actually wrote the lines. . . .

On the other hand, it seems quite possible that Mr. Longfellow, even if he never wrote these lines down, may have *said* them. He may have repeated them or modified them from some earlier quotation . . . he may have said to his daughter Edith (according to her brother Ernest, when she was so young — she was born in 1853 — that her father was carrying her in his arms at the time — Ernest was eight years old when Edith was born and so might well have remembered it):

"There was a little girl
And she had a little curl"

Later when Edith was 19, he wrote in an album lines in a somewhat similar meter beginning:

"She that come to me and pleadeth
With the lovely name of Edith
Shall have everything she needeth"

or something like that.

[11] Ernest Wadsworth Longfellow, *Random Memories* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922), pp. 15-16.

. . . Such jingles are made up all the time without anyone writing them down. If Longfellow muttered them or uttered them to his children, the children or their nurse or their governess may have repeated them, others may have heard them, and in the course of time they may have got written down and printed and set to music as in the case of the *Balloon Post*.

. . . As a further evidence that Mr. Longfellow was in the habit of making up this sort of jingle for his daughters and their friends, I may mention that for one of his daughter Edith's best friends, Rose Fay, he wrote:

"Rose of Roses
Fay of Fays
Health and happiness
All her days."

In this case I say he "wrote" advisedly, because in this case, unlike "There was a little girl," the manuscript in his handwriting does exist. It was, at her request, written out and presented to Rose Fay, who later became the wife of the famous conductor of the Chicago Orchestra — Theodore Thomas.

No one could put the problem of Longfellow's part in the dissemination of the rhyme more clearly than Mr. Dana has done, nor express more fairly the method by which Longfellow may have given it origin. I think we can properly disregard the slight variations in the method and place of composition indicated by a stranger in 1882 and by a member of the family in 1922, and perhaps remark only on the odd similarity that Ernest chose the Roosevelt-Tucker-Macchetta text with the rhyme in lines 4 and 5 lost. It would be perfectly believable, even without the rather hysterical report of Blanch Roosevelt Tucker-Macchetta, on the basis of the family tradition, that the poet spoke the lines, and that they were repeated by someone (child or adult — I incline to the latter) present, remembered by the auditor, and repeated as an original poem by Longfellow. If he did compose the lines, after they became known outside the family circle they can easily have attracted the extra verses about the boy, just as they have attracted parodies of all sorts in later days; and have been extended by other hands into the three-verse ballad and the four-verse joke.

The lapse of time between the presumed composition in the fifties and the printings of the (?) sixties, seventies, and eighties we have discussed, would then be explicable. One dare not assume, in addition, that printings closer to the time of the presumed origin with Longfellow around 1860 will not be discovered, nor that a manuscript or other authentication will not be found.

IV

If one, on the other hand, insists on being stubborn in resisting any connection of Longfellow as author with a rhyme like forehead/horrid, then one can believe that the second and third winder/hinder and attick/emphatic may have come off the same non-Longfellow assembly line. If one looks at the three-verse poem very coldly, one can see that it holds together remarkably well in rhyme, sense, and meter for a jingle of its sort. Compared, for example, with the "Moral" verse or almost any of the boy jingles. It is hard to visualize Henry Wadsworth Longfellow bringing out of his imagination, even in fun, lines that are horseplay in language and meaning; and to conceive any of these rhymes coming from his elegant workshop.

To uphold the negative in a debate, one would then object to believing anything as gushing as Miss Roosevelt's story; pick up little oddities in the tradition; instance examples of comparable literary misapprehensions; point to the fact that Ernest Longfellow was writing a long time after the event, and that his version is closer to that of Miss Roosevelt (*i.e.* the rhyme in lines 4 and 5 is lost) than to the text most of us prefer; and, above all, make much of the fact that the Longfellow girls did not wear curls on the forehead as a regular matter. Actually I think there is only one point worth dwelling on: the strong feeling in the poet's family, and among those who know his poetry best (good evidence), that the only possible connection of Longfellow with the poem would be with the first verse.

If it is convincing that the three-verse version hangs together, and equally so that Henry Wadsworth Longfellow would never in the world have troubled even to repeat the last two verses (but that he did in verity speak the first verse), then we are left with the hypothesis that the full version existed *before* the poet could have adapted the girl with the curl to his domestic problem.

It is not for want of searching that I have to confess that there has been found no specific evidence, in the way of print or manuscript or oral tradition, to support argument in favor of this supposition. For what it is worth, there is analogy: it certainly has been the fate of nursery rhymes to be preserved as fragments from older ballads. Sabine Baring-Gould, a sound student of myths and legends, put the typical steps so: a nurse sings to a child some ditty she has heard, possibly as a child — and which she remembers imperfectly; a long song thus gets cut down to a couple of verses, and in another generation, the two verses shrink into one.[12] Andrew Lang concluded the Notes to his edition of *The Nursery Rhyme Book* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1897) with the comment:

> . . . our old nursery rhymes are smooth stones from the brook of time, worn round by constant friction of tongues long silent. We cannot hope to make new nursery rhymes, any more than we can write new fairy tales.

Because the material has been surveyed, a summary of the judgements of the encyclopedists of famous quotations, popular verse, nonsense poetry and children's recitations may be of interest. Among the American scholars of famous lines for example, Mencken, Granger and Stevenson (apart from Wilson and Johnson) include our rhyme. Mencken's *Dictionary of Quotations* cites the first verse and confidently assigns it to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, with the date 1871, although he has since expressed doubt of the validity of the attribution. The Index of Granger (Third Edition) makes the poor judgement that the first

[12] S. Baring-Gould, *A Book of Nursery Songs and Rhymes* (London: Methuen & Co., 1907), p. xi.

stanza is Mother Goose and the other two stanzas are sometimes attributed to HWL. (The wildest variety of texts and attributions is found in the references to printings given by Granger: they include practically all the readers and anthologies in current use in the United States.) Of the American origin there is little doubt on the part of British reference works — although since the first verse has been assimilated by oral tradition into the British nursery for perhaps as many generations as into the American, it is often popularly held overseas to be of British origin. The *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* includes the item as the last entry under Longfellow, carefully indicating that the source is *The Home Life of Henry W. Longfellow.*

The variants in two verses are not favored by the anthologists of today, although they have at present much greater oral circulation than the three-stanza ballad (known by heart to no one of my acquaintance, at least). There must have been separate printings between 1870 and 1897 other than those (the broadside and the Worthington book) now known. In 1897, the percipient E. V. Lucas, the first anthologist to include the ballad, found it necessary to give two versions and an annotation. It will be noted that the little girl is named Jemima in the third stanza of one of the versions, and the poem is sometimes called by that name. Particular to England apparently is "hood" as a rhyme for "good": I take it to be, from the weakening of sense for regularity of rhyme, rather late than early.

JEMIMA

There was a little girl, she wore a little hood,
  And a curl down the middle of her forehead,
When she was good, she was very, very good,
  But when she was bad, she was horrid.

One day she went upstairs, while her parents, unawares,
  In the kitchen down below were occupied with meals,
And she stood upon her head, on her little truckle-bed,
  And she then began hurraying with her heels.

Her mother heard the noise, and thought it was the boys,
  A-playing at a combat in the attic,
But when she climbed the stair and saw Jemima there,
  She took and she did whip her most emphatic!

Anon.

And from the Notes at back, this reference on "Jemima":

Some people prefer the following version of the same piece. The other seems to me to be better. It was surely much finer for Jemima to hurrah with her heels than to drum them against the winder, which any one could do: —

There was a little girl, who had a little curl
  Right in the middle of her forehead,
And when she was good she was very, very good,
  But when she was bad she was horrid.

She stood on her head, on her little truckle-bed,
  With nobody by for to hinder;
She screamed and she squalled, she yelled and she bawled,
  And drummed her little heels against the winder.

Her mother heard the noise, and thought it was the boys
  Playing in the empty attic,
She rushed upstairs, and caught her unawares,
  And spanked her, most emphatic.

I have tried in vain to discover the author of these verses. According to an American writer, Miss Roosevelt, the first stanza was claimed by Longfellow; but there is no proof that it was he who finished it.[13]

Carolyn Wells, who had ripe judgment in these matters, in the First Edition (1902) of her *Nonsense Anthology*, chose the "hurraying" version, gave it the title "There Was a Little Girl," and ascribed the whole to Longfellow. In a note dated February 27, 1911, printed in the British *Notes and Queries*, during the course of the second run[14] of our question in that classic journal

[13] E. V. Lucas, editor, *A Book of Verses for Children* (London: Grant Richards, 1897), pp. 123, 326-327.

[14] *Notes and Queries*, Series 11, Vol. VI (London, 1911), 128, 234, 271, 333, 438. After the question of the authorship of the poem — first verse only — had been put, the answers were all Longfellow, various types of evidence being adduced, includ-

for the curious, she said: "I have many times seen it stated that Longfellow wrote the lines. I like to think that he did write them, but I cannot offer proof."

In her 1936 *Book of Humorous Verse*, however, she used the same text, but called the author Unknown. B. E. Stevenson consistently prefers "hinder/winder," the girl title, and the nameless central character, but is of two minds about the authorship. In the 1912 and succeeding editions of *The Home Book of Verse*, the author is Unknown, as in the 1915 and 1929 editions of *The Home Book of Verse for Young People*, while at page 52 of both the 1923 and 1925 editions of *Famous Single Poems And the Controversies Which Have Raged Around Them*, he makes a passing but positive reference to Longfellow's composition of "There Was a Little Girl," and comments that the poet

> . . . would have been aghast had he suspected that these lines were to become more widely known than 'Evangeline' or 'Hiawatha.'

To me, the question is still open whether Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, in voicing "There Was a Little Girl," was doing more than other, non-poetical, fathers in similar circumstances — using, perhaps altering, the first lines of a familiar piece of household poetry.

---

ing not only the usual reference to the Roosevelt book, but also, from E. Marston, this note:

> Some fifteen or twenty years ago a well known American lady told me that when she was a very little girl Longfellow took her on his knee and repeated the words as follows:
>
> There was a little dirl,
> And she had a little curl
> Just in the middle of her forehead;
> And when she was dood,
> She was very dood indeed,
> But when she was naughty, she was horrid.
>
> I know of no reason to doubt her word, nor does there seem to be any reason why Longfellow should wish to suppress them.

There had been a trial entry of the question in *Notes and Queries*, Series 10, Vol. II, p. 528, where it was dismissed by the Editor with the suggestion that Thomas Bailey Aldrich was probably responsible!

The rewards of an investigation are often incidental: I re-read often and would like to share with you some wise words from one of the first men to inquire into the folklore of the nursery. James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips, in the Preface to the original edition, published in 1841 by the Percy Society, of *The Nursery Rhymes of England*, said:

> The subject is a truly curious one, and it would perhaps occasion some difficulty for the most ingenious theorist to form a conjecture, that would account for the universal dissemination of these strange scraps, and their tradition through several centuries.

AUTHORS OF PAPERS IN THIS ISSUE

Walter S. Merwin is an attorney at law in Buffalo, New York, who was for five years in the armed forces in World War II, leaving the service with the rank of captain. His military activities appear sufficiently in his paper.

Gay Wilson Allen, A.B., A.M., Duke University; Ph.D., University of Wisconsin. Associate Professor of English, New York University. Fellow of Rockefeller Foundation, 1944-1945. Author of *Walt Whitman Handbook*, Chicago, 1946.

Dr. Francis R. Johnson is associate professor of English at Stanford University, where, in addition to courses in Renaissance Literature, he teaches graduate courses in Analytical Bibliography and in Textual Criticism. He has published a number of bibliographical articles in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* and elsewhere.

Sidney Kramer has been doing bibliographical work, for the last four years, on the staff of the Library of Congress and editorial work for the Office of Strategic Services and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association. He was formerly on the staff of the Columbia University Library.

Book Reviews

HAWKINS, REGINALD R., EDITOR. *Scientific, Medical, and Technical Books Published in the United States of America, 1930-1944: A Selected List of Titles in Print with Annotations*, Edited by Reginald R. Hawkins . . . Prepared under the Direction of the National Research Council's Committee on Bibliography of American Scientific and Technical Books. Washington, 1946. [Distributed in the United States by the R. R. Bowker Company] xvi, 1114 pp. 11¼ x 8½ inches. $20.00.

This massive volume constitutes an important addition to the ranks of scientific reference books and should fill a long-felt want. The genesis and scope of the work are stated in the Preface by Dr. John F. Fulton, temporary Chairman of the National Research Council Committee on American Scientific and Technical Bibliography: "The present volume contains a selected list of medical, scientific, and technical books by citizens of this country and Canada published within the limits of the continental United States since the year 1930 — books still in print and available for both domestic and foreign distribution. In 1943 the American publishers' mission to South America, becoming aware of the absence of such a compilation, brought the matter to the attention of the Department of State which immediately went on record as believing that a bibliography of this type would be a most useful means of furthering cultural relations with foreign countries. In November 1943 a formal request for aid in such an undertaking, endorsed by the Library of Congress, was forwarded to Dr. Ross G. Harrison, Chairman of the National Research Council. . . In March 1944 Dr. Harrison appointed a committee to formulate definite policy and procedure. . . Dr. Harrison Craver, the Chairman of the Committee, laid his plans carefully and made the fortunate choice of Mr. R. R. Hawkins, Chief of the Science and Technology Division of The New York Public Library, as principal editor. Appeals were sent to several hundred publishers requesting them to submit to Mr. Hawkins' office a list of technical and scientific monographs still in print and published by them between 1930 and 1 January 1945."

Mr. Hawkins begins his Introduction to the book as follows: "Since it

has not previously been surveyed in its totality, the abundance of American scientific and technical literature has never been fully appreciated. Although descriptions of approximately six thousand titles are given in this work, twice as much material was available without covering subjects other than those here included. If we had embraced all technical branches, three volumes would have been necessary." As pointed out also by Mr. Hawkins, "Most bibliographical works similar to this give much less information about individual titles. . . In the present list books are described fully with complete titles, tables of contents, and descriptive annotations. It is hoped that the Committee's decision to describe at length a carefully selected group of books has resulted in a more useful list than had more titles been given with less complete information."

The magnitude of the task will be apparent to anyone who examines the book. The six thousand titles have been classified under fifty-nine general headings, most of which are subdivided into more specific groups. The average number of titles listed under a general subject is about one hundred, ranging from four titles under *First Aid*, on one page, to more than six hundred under *Medicine*, covering thirty-four subheads in more than one hundred pages.

Following the titles listed in the body of the book there is given an appendix containing a directory of state agencies that issue publications in geology, engineering and agriculture, and a directory of publishers. The volume concludes with well-planned and most useful author and subject indexes.

Since no similar bibliography has heretofore appeared, a direct comparative evaluation cannot be made in a review such as this, even if the reviewer were competent to judge in so many fields. Instead, I shall confine myself to a few general remarks, largely the result of browsing and random sampling, and to some specific statements concerning the titles and authors listed under *Mathematics*, the field of my special interest.

With regard to the selections on a given subject, Mr. Hawkins states in his Introduction that in general they "represent the works that should be available in a well-stocked American library specializing in that subject. Convenient summaries of knowledge and monographs containing new and significant information were included. The work is thus not a list of the best books but rather of important and useful books." I confess that the last sentence quoted does not make clear to me the ultimate bases of selection — surely the attributes of "best" and "important and useful" are not mutually exclusive.

Some of the titles included and some of the omissions are also puzzling to this reviewer. For example, two of Brink's mathematical textbooks are included, but at least four others of his books are missing, although they were published by the same company between 1930 and 1944 and are equally worthy; similarly, *Analytic Geometry*, by Smith, Salkover and Justice, is listed, but *Calculus* by the same authors is not. On the other hand, *Plane and Solid Analytic Geometry*, by Osgood and Graustein, is given a place, despite the fact that it was published in 1921, nine years before the earliest date supposedly admissible.

The general subject headings listed in the Table of Contents indicate that the classification order is that of the Dewey System. A departure from this order is made, however, by placing books on mathematics written specifically for engineers under the subject heading *Engineering* rather than under *Mathematics*. This may be disconcerting to some who consult the book, and seems somewhat illogical when it results, for example, in placing *Fourier Series and Boundary Value Problems* under *Mathematics* whereas *Modern Operational Mathematics in Engineering* appears under *Engineering* — two books called "companion volumes" by their author, R. V. Churchill. More oddly still, *Applied Mathematics in Chemical Engineering*, by Sherwood and Reed, appears neither under *Mathematics* nor under the subheading *Mathematics for Engineers*, but with books on *Chemical Engineering* instead — and it cannot be found in the Subject Index under Mathematics, Applied.

It should be remarked that references in the Table of Contents are to pages, whereas those in the Author Index and Subject Index are to title numbers. It is unfortunate that these designations are nowhere noted.

Although "approximately six thousand" titles are listed, the title numbers end with 5193. Apparently a last-minute decision was made to include about eight hundred additional titles which are designated with letter suffixes to numbers previously assigned. Thus, there are sixty-two titles under the heading *Man*, all bearing the number 1763 given to the last title of the preceding group, and carrying the letter suffixes a,b, . . . , z; aa, ab, . . . , az; ba, bb, . . . , bj.

A few minor slips and errata were noticed. The name Hornung is misspelled in the Author Index. The title, *Introduction to Microörganisms*, is correctly listed under Thompson, L. V. R. in the Author Index, but appears also under Thompson, J. E. The group *Forestry Products* begins on p. 1014, not 1015 as given in the Table of Contents. Alphabetical order

is violated on p. 43, where Woods appears before Wells, and on p. 63, where Peters precedes Paterson.

These, however, are trifling matters which detract little from the overall excellence of the work. It is to be hoped that like projects will be undertaken for other fields, such as the social sciences, and that all such works will be kept up to date.

FREDERIC H. MILLER

A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640. Compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave . . . and others. London, The Bibliographical Society, 1946. xviii, 609 pp., reproduced by photolithography from the edition of 1926, 4¼ x 10 inches. £2. 2*s*.

A Checklist of American Copies of "Short-Title Catalogue" Books. Compiled by William Warner Bishop. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1944 (University of Michigan General Library Publications, No. 6). xvi, 250 pp., lithoprinted from typescript, 8 x 10⅜ inches. Wrappers. $2.00.

The publication, just twenty years after its original appearance, of a reprint of *A Short-Title Catalogue of* [*English*] *Books . . . 1475-1640* is a bibliographical event of prime importance. It makes available again to students of early English literature and history an indispensable scholarly tool which has long been scarce, and it represents at least a temporary change of policy on the part of the Bibliographical Society of London. As a rule, books printed by the Society are supplied only to its members and never reprinted. The original edition of *S. T. C.* was an exception; a small number of copies were sold by Quaritch to non-members. The present volume, reproduced by photolithography from the original edition but in a slightly smaller format, is now obtainable by both members of the Society and the general public at a reasonable price.

From the beginning the compilers of *S. T. C.* modestly looked upon their undertaking as a kind of bibliographical handlist preparatory for a full-dress catalogue. What they produced was, of course, a great deal more. But it has always been hoped and expected that corrections and additions to the original entries would accumulate as they were discovered by librarians, collectors, and other users of the book. Some revisions, indeed, have been reported independently by several large libraries, notably the

Huntington and the Newberry,* and for years the Society has itself been collecting supplementary data for a new edition. It is regrettable that the present volume is not that enlarged revision. But anything more ambitious than a simple reprint, however, was at the present time out of the question. Much preparatory work for a new edition has already been carried out, on both sides of the Atlantic, but the completion of these labors will necessarily take several years more. The task can no longer be done by consulting existing catalogues; it requires the expert examination of every individual entry in the light of modern bibliographical research.

The circumstances which have led the Bibliographical Society to anticipate the publication of a fully revised *S. T. C.* by issuing the present reprint are both a high tribute to the original edition and another illustration of the need—in fairness to both British and American publishers—for an international agreement on copyright. An unauthorized reprint of *S. T. C.* had been projected by an American firm, and the Society wisely decided to counter this threat to its property by issuing a reprint of its own. Fortunately, it has been able to obtain priorities for the production and an excellent grade of paper.

The projected piracy was to have contained a supplement, but its omission in the present reprint is not altogether irreparable. What is so astonishing, even twenty years after its first publication, is the completeness and accuracy of *S. T. C.* "The hopes with which the compilers started will be disappointed," the editors stated confidently in their preface, "if within the next ten years they are found to have omitted more than ten per cent of the extant books, or more than twenty per cent of extant editions and issues. Some experiments which have been made lead them to hope that these proportions may be halved." The percentages of error and omission are well within these limits. Moreover, the supplementary Huntington and Newberry lists can be consulted in most scholarly libraries, and for American users there is now *A Checklist of American Copies of "Short-Title Catalogue" Books*, compiled by William Warner Bishop. The Bishop hand-

* *Huntington Library Supplement to the Record of its Books in the Short Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640*, compiled by Cecil Kay Edmonds, in: *Huntington Library Bulletin* No. 4 (October, 1933), pp. 1-151; and *English Books and Books Printed in England before 1641 in The Newberry Library. A Supplement to the Record in the Short Title Catalogue.* Compiled by Gertrude L. Woodward. Chicago, 1939, 118 pp., 500 copies multigraphed. On this whole subject see an article by A. W. Pollard, *Future Work on the Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640*, in: *The Library*, Fourth Series, Volume VIII, No. 4 (March, 1938), pp. 377-394.

book replaces a tentative list issued in 1941 and contains (pp. 233-248) an appendix, offered hesitantly, of some 400 additional entries to *S. T. C.* In all cases these are drawn, not from the books themselves, but from cards submitted by librarians of varying degrees of familiarity with both *S. T. C.* and the rules of entry governing that publication.

Although purely for guidance to students *S. T. C.* had located a few copies of each of its entries in both English and American libraries, it made no pretense of being a census of copies. Nevertheless, it has frequently been so used. The Bishop *Checklist*, on the other hand, attempts to record the *S. T. C.* holdings of a hundred American libraries, public and private. Arrangement is by *S. T. C.* numbers, and reference to libraries is by the standard symbols used in the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress. It is, of course, impossible to use the Bishop *Checklist* without a copy of *S. T. C.* at hand to translate numbers into titles. The purpose is simply to afford a convenient, up-to-date guide to the location of American copies for scholars seeking access to original editions of early English printed books. The Bishop *Checklist* is thus a valuable supplement to *S. T. C.*, since some of the great collections in which *S. T. C.* noted copies, like that of W. A. White, have changed ownership since 1926, and others, like the Folger, have since been opened to students. Collections, also, have continued to grow.

For scholars the Bishop *Checklist* will be a useful tool; in print, alas, it will in all probability be most frequently and profitably alluded to by antiquarian booksellers—"Only ONE copy in the USA, according to Bishop."

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

SMITH, ALICE E., Editor. *Guide to the Manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Society*. Edited by Alice E. Smith. [Seal of the Wisconsin Historical Society] Madison, 1944. xiv, 290 pp. 9 x 6 inches. $2.50.

By the bequest of Lyman C. Draper the State Historical Society of Wisconsin became in 1891 the owner of his large collection of manuscripts. Fifteen years later there was published under the editorship of Reuben Gold Thwaites a *Descriptive List of Manuscript Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (1906). The listing of the Draper Manuscripts occupied 104 pages of that volume as against a total of fourteen pages for all the other collections in the Society's possession.

A sharp contrast is presented by Miss Smith's *Guide*. After a brief fore-

word by Dr. Edward P. Alexander, Director of the Society, Miss Smith, in the preface, tells what the *Guide* will not contain. The first great omission is that of the Draper Manuscripts, for the reason that the *Descriptive List* of 1906 is still in print. Also excluded are manuscript genealogies, autograph collections, copies of material available in nearby repositories, and small groups of papers comprising ten items or less. Despite these exclusions, the *Guide* describes no less than 802 groups of papers, the listing of which requires 234 pages of text.

The collections are described in alphabetical order. A collection is listed as "papers" unless it is limited to a definite type of material *e.g.*, "record books," "correspondence," "diaries," "orderly books." While names of persons predominate, place names abound. Most of the persons and the localities named have special relation to Wisconsin, but there are many and important exceptions. For example, the *Guide* lists several bodies of copies of papers and records in other states, as well as reproductions of various sorts from archival records in Great Britain, France and Spain. Of the Wisconsin personal papers some attain a distinctly national significance, as in the collections which bear the names respectively of James R. Doolittle, William F. Vilas and Robert M. LaFollette. Especially noteworthy is the large body described as "Collections of Papers on Labor and Socialism," but called by Miss Smith in the Preface "the John R. Commons Collection." Segments of this deal with the International Workingmen's Association, the Workingmen's Party of the United States, the Socialist Labor Party, the Sovereigns of Industry, the Knights of Labor, and Cooperation; with smaller groups of Records of Parties, Associations and Unions. Here and there appear groups that seem to have wandered far from their habitat; such as the Correspondence of Peter S. DuPonceau of Philadelphia with John G. E. Heckewelder of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and the papers of Thomas T. Smiles, a Tennessee lawyer.

On one matter the reader would have been helped by a fuller treatment. Under "Wisconsin, State of," are listed many collections that are obviously archival in nature, particularly large bodies of records transferred from the office of the governor and the office of the secretary of state. But there seem to be gaps; and a useful explanation might have been afforded by a brief over-all statement of the relation of the Historical Society to the state's archives.

The Index of 56 pages is very well done, representing a successful effort to direct the reader to the materials by an unusual abundance of subject headings. In the text the descriptions are models of intelligent con-

densation. Miss Smith's *Guide* does not attempt the *optimum* embodied in Howard H. Peckham's *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library* (1942) in which one can find the name of every individual writer of a letter in every collection.

This Wisconsin *Guide* was prepared through the coöperative effort of the Historical Society and the Wisconsin Branch of the Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration. The result is a creditable and highly useful finding tool.

St. George L. Sioussat

American Book-Prices Current (device) *Index 1941-1945*. Compiled from the Annual Volumes and Edited by Colton Storm. New York, R. R. Bowker Co., 1946. xxxvii, 1126 pp. 8¾ x 6 inches. $35.00.

The latest cumulative index to *American Book-Prices Current* offers an overview of the war-time boom in rare books. Mr. Storm points to the danger inherent in the sharp price rise. It should be noted however that this condition is even more ominous in other commodity fields. It is likely that a comparative study of prices would show relatively less inflation in the book field than in most others.

The Index, as usual, follows the arrangement of the annual volumes, which should be consulted for a true evaluation of comparative prices.

Fred B. Rothman

Templeman, William D., Editor. *Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature For the Thirteen Years 1932-1944*, Edited by William D. Templeman. Compiled by Samuel P. Chew, Frederic E. Faverty, Charles Frederick Harrold, William Irvine, William D. Templeman, Charles W. Thomas, Ruth C. Wallerstein, Helen C. White, and Austin Wright. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1945. ix, 450 pp. 10½ x 7 inches.

It should be emphasized at once that this volume is one for the worker—the graduate student or the researcher or the teacher. As the title indicates, the intent is to provide for the years specified a handy guide to work (including reviews) dealing with the Victorian era which has a bearing on the literature of the period. The works listed were published chiefly in England and America, but there are items which have appeared elsewhere.

Howard Mumford Jones in a foreword points out well how warmly the volume will be welcomed by students and by everyone who proposes investigations in the period. The material concerned is available in the annual volumes of *Modern Philology*, but this single publication greatly increases the availability.

In format these *Bibliographies* are something of a monument to ingenuity and enterprise in an admittedly difficult publishing era. The volume is a reproduction by photographic process of the bibliographies for each year as they have appeared in the learned journal *Modern Philology*, thirteen bibliographies in all. They are unified by continuous pagination, a preface by Mr. Templeman, the foreword by Mr. Jones, and an index prepared by Mr. Templeman. The index is limited, however, to the authors listed in Section IV of each bibliography and the first three sections of the 1932 item. Thus all that can well be done under the limitations of the process has been done. One who consults the work must remember that he will need to scan the bibliography for each of the years concerned. He must also be wary of the cross-references which point to pagination in the original *Modern Philology* version and not to the present volume. This possible confusion is regrettable but unavoidable.

The bibliographical work represented here is the product, in the beginning, of plans laid down in 1930 and 1931 by the Victorian Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America. In the course of time a substantial number of individuals have been concerned as compilers and editors. They are appropriately listed on the title-page. From this point of view, the volume is a heartening example of coöperative enterprise. It is as well a kind of acknowledgment of the leaders and active supporters in the movement to bring Victorian Literature into the fold as a proper subject for investigation and scholarship. William D. Templeman and Charles F. Harrold have particularly been leaders. It was appropriate that the first bibliography should appear in the year 1932, the hundredth anniversary of the passage in England of the Reform Bill and of the death of Sir Walter Scott, events which among others have widely been considered to symbolize the opening of the Victorian era although the Queen herself was for five years more to wait obediently in the wings.

There is one feature of this work which raises a problem in bibliographical method. With increasing frequency comments are appended to various items, comments intended to give some idea of the content of the piece concerned or of its quality. There is presumably no reason to offer comments on each item, but when one is included, the reason should be

apparent. It is not clear what the basis is here. The judgment appears to be somewhat capricious, both as to length and as to the items chosen. It is to be hoped that as future bibliographies appear, the reason for comment will be clear. For example, there seems to be no point in commenting at length on Merle M. Bevington's excellent *The Saturday Review* (*Bibliography for 1941*, Section II) while not commenting at all on Leslie Marchand's similar volume, *The Athenaeum* (*Bibliography for 1940*, Section II). The student especially may be misled by such procedure.

No bibliographical work could better demonstrate than does this present one the importance of bibliographical work. It is not entirely a matter of being a valuable tool, as indeed this volume is. It is also the appeal to the imagination and interest that is evoked, even if by nothing more than a rapid turning of the pages. On a matter not concerned with the content as such, poignant reflections arise when one notes the sharp decrease in pages required to cover the activities of 1943 and 1944 as compared, say, with those for 1938. Similarly one notes the disappearance of German titles and periodicals. As he works through the entries, the student or reader views a panorama of the Victorian period, so to speak a retrospective panorama. He notes the resurgence of interest, say in Newman or Morris, as a centenary date comes up. The reader is struck by the continuing tremendous interest in Dickens. He is instructed by noting the possibly final irony of Carlyle's career and reputation, his virtual adoption by the Nazis. Sometimes there are puzzles. Why so much interest in Pater or Gerard Manley Hopkins? Why so little in Herbert Spencer? Or the scientists generally? There are fashions, perhaps, in scholarship as in so many activities of life. But chiefly one is heartened to see with what distinction the Victorian age has been treated. For truly it is the early days of our own era.

Robert B. Dow.

SHL
WITHDRAWN
UNIV

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME FORTY

FIRST QUARTER, 1946

The Manuscript of Hardy's "Two on a Tower"
CARL J. WEBER

"The Groans of Great Britain"
JOHN ROBERT MOORE

The Margins in Mediaeval Books
CURT F. BÜHLER

Author's Copyright in England before 1640
LEO KIRSCHBAUM

Book Reviews

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 40, NUMBER 1, JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH, 1946.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
at 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
(P. O. Box No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL ANNEX, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $4.00 PER YEAR.

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER JULY 2, 1941, AT THE POST OFFICE
AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.
ADDITIONAL ENTRY AT PORTLAND, MAINE.

OFFICERS

President, ROBERT W. G. VAIL, The New-York Historical Society, New York 24, N. Y.

First Vice-President, WILLIAM A. JACKSON, Harvard College, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Second Vice-President, CARROLL A. WILSON, 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

Secretary, JULIAN P. BOYD, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Treasurer, THOMAS W. STREETER, Sussex Ave., Morristown, N. J.

Permanent Secretary and Editor of the Papers, NELSON W. MCCOMBS, New York University, 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.

COUNCIL

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS
JULIAN P. BOYD
LATHROP C. HARPER
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
LEROY E. KIMBALL
VICTOR H. PALTSITS
HARRY T. PETERS
THOMAS W. STREETER
ROBERT W. G. VAIL
CARROLL A. WILSON

FINANCE COMMITTEE

THOMAS W. STREETER, *Chairman*

HOWARD L. GOODHART
LEROY E. KIMBALL

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

CARROLL A. WILSON, *Chairman*

CURT F. BÜHLER
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
ERNEST J. WESSEN
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

COPYRIGHT 1946 BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

1250 COPIES. COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE
SOUTHWORTH-ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE, U. S. A.

GIFTS and BEQUESTS

The Bibliographical Society of America is an educational, non-profit corporation, and gifts and bequests to it are free of all taxes.

Form of Unrestricted Gift

I give and bequeath to the Bibliographical Society of America, a corporation having a principal office in the City and State of New York, the sum of _____ dollars, for its general corporate purposes.

Form of Restricted Gift

I give and bequeath to the Bibliographical Society of America, a corporation having a principal office in the City and State of New York, the sum of_____ dollars, to be held by it as a permanent fund, the income thereof to be applied by it for its general corporate purposes.

Address all correspondence to the Permanent Secretary, P. O. Box 397, Grand Central Annex, New York 17, New York.

ROBINSON

RARE BOOKS
AND ANCIENT
MANUSCRIPTS

PALL MALL

LONDON

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME FORTY

SECOND QUARTER, 1946

Debates of Lincoln and Douglas
ERNEST J. WESSEN

A Plea for a More Consistent Policy of Cataloguing by Auction Galleries
DAVID A. RANDALL

Richard Hildreth's Minor Works
LOUIS S. FRIEDLAND

Early Connecticut Laws
ALBERT C. BATES

Note on the Pforzheimer Catalogue
WILLIAM A. JACKSON

Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 40, NUMBER 2, APRIL, MAY, JUNE, 1946.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
at 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
(P. O. Box No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL ANNEX, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $4.00 PER YEAR.

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER JULY 2, 1941, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. ADDITIONAL ENTRY AT PORTLAND, MAINE.

OFFICERS

President, ROBERT W. G. VAIL, The New-York Historical Society, New York 24, N. Y.

First Vice-President, WILLIAM A. JACKSON, Harvard College, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Second Vice-President, CARROLL A. WILSON, 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

Secretary, JULIAN P. BOYD, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Treasurer, THOMAS W. STREETER, Sussex Ave., Morristown, N. J.

Permanent Secretary and Editor of the Papers, NELSON W. MCCOMBS, New York University, 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.

COUNCIL

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS
JULIAN P. BOYD
LATHROP C. HARPER
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
LEROY E. KIMBALL
VICTOR H. PALTSITS
HARRY T. PETERS
THOMAS W. STREETER
ROBERT W. G. VAIL
CARROLL A. WILSON

FINANCE COMMITTEE

THOMAS W. STREETER, *Chairman*

HOWARD L. GOODHART
LEROY E. KIMBALL

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

CARROLL A. WILSON, *Chairman*

CURT F. BÜHLER
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
ERNEST J. WESSEN
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

COPYRIGHT 1946 BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

1250 COPIES. COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE SOUTHWORTH-ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE, U. S. A.

SPECIALISTS

IN

Midwestern
Americana

Catalogues

MIDLAND
RARE BOOK
COMPANY

MANSFIELD, OHIO

ROBINSON

RARE BOOKS
AND ANCIENT
MANUSCRIPTS

PALL MALL

LONDON

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME FORTY

THIRD QUARTER, 1946

The Lenox-Quaritch Transactions, 1874-1880
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

Standing Type in Elizabethan Printing
FREDSON BOWERS

Cruikshank's Sketch Book: The "Gold" Question
JOHN PINCKNEY HOLBROOK

Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 40, NUMBER 3, JULY, AUGUST, SEPTEMBER, 1946.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
at 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
(P. O. BOX No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL ANNEX, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $4.00 PER YEAR.

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER JULY 2, 1941, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. ADDITIONAL ENTRY AT PORTLAND, MAINE.

OFFICERS

President, WILLIAM A. JACKSON, Harvard College, Cambridge 38, Mass.

First Vice-President, LEROY E. KIMBALL, New York University, 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.

Second Vice-President, CARROLL A. WILSON, 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

Secretary, JULIAN P. BOYD, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Treasurer, THOMAS W. STREETER, Sussex Ave., Morristown, N. J.

Permanent Secretary and Editor of the Papers, NELSON W. MCCOMBS, New York University, 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.

COUNCIL

FREDERICK B. ADAMS
JAMES T. BABB
JULIAN P. BOYD
LATHROP C. HARPER
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
LEROY E. KIMBALL
VICTOR H. PALTSITS
THOMAS W. STREETER
ROBERT W. G. VAIL
CARROLL A. WILSON

FINANCE COMMITTEE

THOMAS W. STREETER, *Chairman*

HOWARD L. GOODHART
LEROY E. KIMBALL

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

CARROLL A. WILSON, *Chairman*

CURT F. BÜHLER
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
ERNEST J. WESSEN
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

COPYRIGHT 1946 BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

1275 COPIES. COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE SOUTHWORTH-ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE, U. S. A.

GOODSPEED'S

Anything that's a book

AMERICANA — FIRST
EDITIONS — OLD PRINTS
HISTORICAL & LITERARY
MANUSCRIPTS

Catalogues on Request

18 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass.
OPPOSITE THE STATE HOUSE

ROBINSON

RARE BOOKS
AND ANCIENT
MANUSCRIPTS

PALL MALL

LONDON

29 OCT

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME FORTY

FOURTH QUARTER, 1946

An Imp with Uncle Sam
WALTER S. MERWIN

Whitman's Reception in Scandinavia
GAY WILSON ALLEN

Press Corrections and Presswork in the Elizabethan Printing Shop
FRANCIS R. JOHNSON

"There Was a Little Girl"
SIDNEY KRAMER

Book Reviews

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 40, NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, 1946.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
at 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
(P. O. Box No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL ANNEX, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $4.00 PER YEAR.

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER JULY 2, 1941, AT THE POST OFFICE
AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.
ADDITIONAL ENTRY AT PORTLAND, MAINE.

OFFICERS

President, WILLIAM A. JACKSON, Harvard College, Cambridge 38, Mass.

First Vice-President, LEROY E. KIMBALL, New York University, 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.

Second Vice-President, CARROLL A. WILSON, 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

Secretary, JULIAN P. BOYD, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Treasurer, THOMAS W. STREETER, Sussex Ave., Morristown, N. J.

Permanent Secretary and Editor of the Papers, NELSON W. MCCOMBS, New York University, 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.

COUNCIL

FREDERICK B. ADAMS
JAMES T. BABB
JULIAN P. BOYD
LATHROP C. HARPER
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
LEROY E. KIMBALL
VICTOR H. PALTSITS
THOMAS W. STREETER
ROBERT W. G. VAIL
CARROLL A. WILSON

FINANCE COMMITTEE

THOMAS W. STREETER, *Chairman*

HOWARD L. GOODHART
LEROY E. KIMBALL

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

CARROLL A. WILSON, *Chairman*

CURT F. BÜHLER
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
ERNEST J. WESSEN
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

COPYRIGHT 1946 BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

1275 COPIES PRINTED. COMPOSED AND PRINTED
BY THE SOUTHWORTH-ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE, U. S. A.

Charles Retz, Inc.

Rare and Choice Books

Autographs

Catalogues sent on request

598 Madison Avenue New York 22

THE
SOUTHWORTH-ANTHOENSEN
PRESS

PORTLAND 6, MAINE

Offers unusual facilities in equipment and in personnel for the production of

BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICAL
PUBLICATIONS

Also many kinds of miscellaneous literary, institutional and commercial printing are undertaken. In the printing of Bibliographies the Press provides a degree of efficiency and accuracy not often obtained in this class of work. All work is carefully designed and supervised. Enquiries receive prompt attention.

ROBINSON

RARE BOOKS
AND ANCIENT
MANUSCRIPTS

PALL MALL

LONDON

6 JAN